

## Ford's firmness

President Ford is to be commended for his handling of the Mayaguez incident. He acted with prudence, deliberation, and courage. Rightly, he tried first to secure return of the vessel and its crew by diplomatic means. Cambodia's failure to respond left him no choice but to take military action.

This was an instance of firm leadership under difficult and delicate circumstances.

There is need now to view the event with a sense of proportion. The tendency by some to gloat that the U.S. has demonstrated its "strength" in the aftermath of defeat in Vietnam should be suppressed. Hyperbole is self-defeating. This was not the use of power to safeguard America's or another nation's security. It was the use of power for the legitimate and circumscribed purpose of protecting American lives and property. The point is the U.S. could not permit a nation to flout international law and arbitrarily seize its ships and citizens on the seas.

This is not to deny, however, the complicating factors surrounding the capture and retrieval of the Mayaguez — and the impact of the American action in broader foreign policy terms. The seizure looked very much like a defiance of the U.S. In this context the use of counterforce is bound to be seen as a demonstration of Washington's willingness to protect its interests with toughness. Whatever the public rhetoric of governments, we suspect many nations in Asia (possibly even many Thais) are relieved to see this so.

Nor should it be forgotten that Moscow and Peking, whose perceptions are most vital to

America's security, are watching closely. Can it be doubted that the Chinese or Russians would read a failure of the U.S. to act in its legitimate interests as a sign of weakness?

In Washington the Mayaguez affair is still having an impact. Although there is general praise for the President's action, questions have arisen about the high cost in casualties and about some aspects of the execution of the operation. Abroad, too, the repercussions have yet to be fully felt.

There seems little doubt that the marine operation will solidify communist anti-Americanism, and the crucial question is what the U.S.-Cambodian confrontation spells for future relations in the region. This is hardly an auspicious beginning for a new relationship with Phnom Penh, whose motives in seizing the Mayaguez are still unclear.

All one knows is that the Cambodians are extremely sensitive to what they term "foreign imperialism." The new leaders are militant, radical, and determined to demonstrate their country's independence.

That goal must be honored. It goes without saying Cambodia's territorial integrity must be respected and there must be no interference in its domestic affairs as it gropes toward a new political and economic order. But a time will come when Cambodia will want trade and other relations with the rest of the world. It must therefore learn that if it is to be accepted as a member of the international community, it will have to abide by international norms of responsible behavior.

## The naval challenge

The rescue of the freighter Mayaguez focuses dramatically on the importance of American sea power. Similarly do recent Soviet naval exercises demonstrate the Soviet Union's determination to become a global naval power. There is little doubt the Russians hope eventually to achieve parity with and even surpass America's present capability on the seas and to use their navy for political — and if need be military — purposes.

In the face of this Soviet challenge, several conclusions suggest themselves:

- It is vital to world stability and the West's security that the United States maintain its naval supremacy. The Russians do not depend on the seas for their survival; the West does. America must therefore keep its navy modernized, efficient and fully able to meet U.S. commitments around the world and to act as a deterrent to Soviet expansionism.

- In light of the American withdrawal from Vietnam and changing political perceptions in Asia and Europe, there is urgent need for a national discussion of what U.S. commitments are, what kind of navy America should have, and how well it is fulfilling its mission.

- While worldwide naval limitations are unrealistic at present, the Soviet Union and the United States ought to begin thinking about averting an unrestrained naval race. The first step could be agreement to limit force levels in the Indian Ocean.

On the other side, concern is mounting that the U.S. fleet is inadequate. The fleet is misleadingly described as "blue water" fleet. The core of the U.S. fleet is the aircraft carrier, a powerful attack vessel on the seas, but it is not a land war, and it is not a sea-lanes power. A flexible force, it is capable of a variety of military operations, as so recently seen in the Gulf of Siam.

The Russians, on the other hand, are not yet able to use their navy to protect power. They have concentrated on building an advanced system aimed at preventing the U.S. from contributing to a land war in Europe, interdicting the West's sea-lanes and supply routes, and at protecting their own submarine missile capability.

Although they do not have a massive offensive capability, however (and we are speaking here of conventional not strategic nuclear forces), the Russians have visibly

improved their sustaining capacity at sea. With time they will be able to assert themselves more and more in crisis situations.

To respond to this challenge, it is necessary to reevaluate what kind of navy the U.S. should be building. Unfortunately, what drives naval programs, experts agree, is not actual need so much as institutional momentum, personalities, power rivalries within the service — and an often exaggerated cry of "The Russians are coming!"

To elite "NATO commitments" as the raison d'être of force numbers and types is not enough. What, it must be asked, should these commitments be? Why does the Navy need 15 carriers and not, say 20, or 10? Why does it always need two in the Mediterranean? How viable are big carriers in the Mediterranean in the event of a European land war? What should the U.S. do to strengthen its naval presence in Asia as it is forced to withdraw from its foreign bases there?

Some experts believe this post-Vietnam era demands a much more flexible navy. They suggest that smaller carriers and more ships with vertical-take-off aircraft are more functional than giant carriers, which are prohibitive in cost and therefore riskier to use.

A part of naval reassessment should be consideration of the possibilities for force limitations. At present there is no need to negotiate with the Russians, for the U.S. has the superior navy. But the time may come when the U.S. fleet is inadequate.

A start perhaps could be made in the Indian Ocean, where the littoral states are anxious to keep the big-power presence at a minimum and where the big powers themselves have no central interest in the littoral states.

How the Russians would react to a U.S. proposal to limit deployment of forces in that region is problematic of course. In 1971 Brezhnev did hint of naval limitation talks but when the U.S. responded favorably, the Russians failed to follow up. If Moscow were to perceive now that Washington sought talk out of growing weakness, such negotiations would be meaningless.

It is self-evident that America must stay militarily strong. That includes a strong navy. But, against a background of strength, the cause of peace would be served by exploring the possibilities for naval restraint.

We urge President Ford to move in this direction.

There! Now if we can all watch our Ps and Qs



## Readers write

### It's a kinder world now

In the nostalgia for a more stable society, it seems to me Peter J. Henniker-Heaton is viewing a past era through rose-tinted spectacles. (Manners very nearly maketh man — April 28th.)

I would submit that today's western world is kinder than that of prewar days. Deference and formality may be less, but should one care about that?

There may be far less of the leisure which enables people to pursue the niceties of life; many facets of polite living require time, and the middle classes no longer have the help in daily life which gives this. The working classes never did have it.

In my view, individual kindness has not diminished, and frequently at greater cost to the donor. I meet courtesy and kindness in my business connections, which take me from sumptuous offices to building sites — and I am struck by the kindness which is surely raised higher in a society which gives generously of time and money to so many worthy causes, and cares so deeply for social justice, however misguided the manifestation of that caring may be at times.

I well remember my shock as a child in prewar days on seeing barefoot children in Newcastle dock areas. I remember also how often boys fought for social justice, however misguided the manifestation of that caring may be at times.

Today's concern for battered babies and wives is evidence, not of an increase in this terrible occurrence, but of increased efforts to stamp it out. Anyone who had experience of prewar poverty areas will know of the many channels unkindness can take.

Mr. Henniker-Heaton must either have led a somewhat sheltered life or be ignoring social history.

There seems to me to be a great deal too much wringing of hands, doom, gloom and

woe about today's trends, the modern world, the modern world, the modern world. Personally, I would not go so far as to say that.

We should all be intensely grateful for the immense progress of the last 50 years. We would give up the problems remaining. Kent, England

### Defeat without shame

Regarding our involvement in Vietnam, I refer to 15 years of active participation. I refer to us as our Indo-China policy. I refer to us as our Indo-China policy. I refer to us as our Indo-China policy. I refer to us as our Indo-China policy.

I deplore the fact that the President's great nation and his Secretary of State belittled the people of this nation in their effort to rescue the people of this nation. I deplore the fact that the President's great nation and his Secretary of State belittled the people of this nation in their effort to rescue the people of this nation.

Our President should be unflinching in his effort to show what we Americans contributed to our effort to all the people of this nation. We and our allies lost. Let us share upon us? Tustin, Calif.

Letters are welcome. Only a limited number can be published and none published without acknowledgment. All are subject to condensation.

## Guns don't bring butter

By Joseph C. Harsch

Gerald Ford's first presidential journey to Europe underlines an important but not yet widely perceived fact about the world we live in. The machinery for cooperation among the modern industrial democracies was designed to meet the receding problems of the past, not the onrushing problems of tomorrow.

The NATO alliance is concerned with protecting Western Europe from the pressures of communism and Soviet imperialism coming from the East. Everything about NATO — its problems, its tasks and its answers — move along an east-west axis. President Ford went to Brussels officially to reassure the West European allies of American devotion to NATO — which the Europeans do not seriously doubt.

But the great problems weighing upon all the governments in the NATO alliance and on the others, primarily Japan, who are associated with them are not on any east-west axis. They are on a north-south axis. They concern the trading relations between the industrial countries which inhabit the northern temperate zones of the world and the raw-material producing countries of South America, Africa, and southern Asia.

There is a barbed wire among NATO members and allies whenever the conversation turns to the Soviet Union. There are differences of emphasis in perceptions of Soviet future intentions, but not on fundamentals. But the conversation on that subject tends to be perfunctory and recessive. Most of the allies feel that for the time being at least that problem is under control.

The problems not under control at all are the price of oil, the price of food, the relationship between industrial prices and raw-material prices. And for these problems there is as yet almost no machinery. True, there are piecemeal approaches. U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger preceded President Ford to Europe to speak at a ministerial meeting of the International Energy Agency. The residual organization of the British Commonwealth, which recently met in the West Indies, is a forum of sorts in which there are the beginnings of a new approach to north-south problems. The European Common Market has negotiated new relationships with African countries.

All of this underlines the fact that as yet there is no satisfactory machinery designed to take the place of the old colonial relationships.

It is a pity that the machinery designed to take the place of the old colonial relationships is still in the process of being designed.

## Irish civil war feared if U.K. quits Ulster

By Jonathan Harsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Two developments in the past week have heightened concern in Northern Ireland's Protestant community that Britain's Labour Party government may be preparing to withdraw from the province: If its latest attempt to find a political solution fails.

First, the illegal provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) threatened to call off the dogs unless there was evidence of what is termed continuing British movement toward withdrawal.

Then the Rev. William Arlow, one of the Northern Irish Protestant churchmen who negotiated an earlier IRA cease-fire last Christmas, asserted that the British Govern-

## President Ford turns spotlight on Europe

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff Correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

There was one question of substance that President Ford intended to tackle during the NATO summit here — in addition to the largely psychological and symbolic task of reassuring the Western alliance of U.S. commitment and credibility in the wake of recent setbacks in Indo-China.

It was the Middle East. Mr. Ford's aim was to try to enlist the help of America's European allies in breaking the current impasse in the Middle East and get things moving again toward settlement in the area.

During his current travels on this side of the Atlantic, the President is meeting one of the principals in the Middle East drama, Egyptian President Sadat, in Salzburg, Austria. And after Mr. Ford's return to Washington, he will be having talks in the White House with another of the principals, Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin.

What the President learns during these two meetings will influence the U.S. in deciding what new initiatives it might take on the Middle East. Even before Mr. Ford left Washington for Brussels, high administration officials disclosed in private talks that:

1. The President was now "looking hard" at an "option for Mideast reassessment" which would include nearly total withdrawal by Israel from occupied Arab territories in return for a new "ironclad" U.S. guarantee of Israel's security.

2. The President, here at the NATO summit, was to work, in private bilateral talks, to prevail on individual members of the alliance to agree to work with the U.S. in bringing about a Mideast settlement.

The U.S. is not asking for NATO group action in this direction, The President has said. "I don't think the alliance should, as a unified body, move into these very delicate negotiations."

But he added in a recent interview: "The impact of each nation, if we could all agree... would be extremely beneficial and most helpful in getting Arab nations, as well as Israel, to resolve some of the long-standing volatile questions."

U.S. hopes for Soviet cooperation in the same direction on these administration "perceptions."

A show of NATO strength and solidarity — which the president believes was on display here for the next two days — was to remind the Soviets that they are dealing with a still formidable and determined Western bloc and with a U.S. that, despite Vietnam, has not turned its back on its commitments.

The U.S. assumption here is that detente works better and that Soviet participation in a Mideast guarantee is more likely if the Soviets are convinced that their adversary is united and tough — and that lack of Soviet cooperation might unleash events that might precipitate a war.

The Soviets, particularly party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, are looking for something they might well accept as a quid pro quo for joining in a Mideast territorial guarantee. That something might be U.S. and NATO agreement to a meeting of the European security conference at summit level in which the West would put its seal of consent to current Soviet-carved boundaries in Eastern and Central Europe.

The President may well decide to hold out to the Soviets this carrot of U.S. participation at a European security conference later this summer — in return for Soviet participation in a Mideast settlement.



Ford and Kissinger: launching initiatives in Europe

## Portuguese parties tussle

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

"We are really at the moment of decision," So said Portuguese Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal in the provincial town of Coico. He was referring to the struggle under way between his own party and the Socialists in what the Socialists see as a last stand to keep the principle of party freedom and parliamentary democracy alive in Portugal.

But the decision that counts in Portugal is that of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) which ousted the right-wing authoritarian Caetano regime 13 months ago and really holds the reins of power in the country. The MFA is being forced in effect to arbitrate the struggle between Communists and Socialists.

After a day-long meeting, it still could not make up its mind.

The week before last MFA closed down the Socialist newspaper Republica, rather than resolve the impasse that had developed between the paper's Socialist editorship and its Communist-led printers. The Socialists saw this as a pro-Communist decision and took to the streets, reminding everybody that they had topped the poll (with 38 percent of the vote to the 18 percent given the Communist Party and its allies) in last month's election.

Socialist leader Mario Soares has said the two Socialists in the military-civilian Cabinet will boycott Cabinet meetings until the MFA ensures freedom of the press and guarantees free and secret elections in both trade unions and local government.

South of the border the government of the Irish Republic believes — and hopes — that Britain has no intention of withdrawing. It thinks withdrawal would be evading Britain's responsibility to find a political solution for the province and would open up the prospect of civil war.

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The IRA assumes that it would run the province if the British withdrew. Moderate Catholics, with no faith in the IRA, think that if Britain withdrew, Protestant extremists would take power.

Ivan Cooper, leading member of the Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party, claims that Protestants in the police and local army reserves already are well prepared for seizing power.

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# Aborigines make their voice heard

By Ann Miller  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

CANBERRA  
The tents are gone, and the lawns outside Parliament House where they once stood have been dug up for replanting. The "aboriginal embassy," widely publicized here for several years, has been closed.

The "embassy," bedecked with signs and symbols, had been the focal point of rowdy demonstrations. Its removal is an indication that the aborigines are, for the time being at least, satisfied that their complaints and claims are receiving official attention.

The right of aborigines to recover lands many of their ancestors lost to territorial expansion or to demand compensation for them has been a thorny problem for the Australian Government. At least one spokesman, Charles Perkins, assistant secretary for aboriginal affairs, thinks progress has not been made fast enough and threatened to protest by pitching another tent outside the United Nations to call worldwide attention to aborigine grievances. He also says he will ask the World Court to prosecute Australia for racism.

Once numbering perhaps 300,000, the aborigines had evolved a complex social organization over thousands of years when the first British settlers arrived in Australia in 1788. Aboriginal ties to the land were associated with religious beliefs more than with agriculture, because as a people they were nomads, lacking even the simplest forms of cultivation or trade.

As livestock ranchers and farmers fanned out across Australia in the 1830s and 1840s, the aborigines were forced to give up many of their traditional tribal grounds. Since there were no villages, and dwellings and tools were primitive, it appeared to the white settlers that these were people lacking in intellect and in the ability to perform sustained work.

The idea has been held widely ever since, even though aborigines have achieved promi-



Aborigine laborer on outback sheep station

nence in several fields, among them tennis star Evonne Goolagong, poet Kath Walker, and internationally acclaimed artist Namatjira. Miss Goolagong was voted Australian of the Year in 1972.

At the same time, the aboriginal population has declined steadily to the point that the 1971 census showed 115,861 (about one-third of them full-blooded) out of an overall Australian population of 13 million.

Historically there have been three different approaches in Australia toward aborigines:

• Protection — virtually an attitude of apartheid. From 1860 until the 1930s government controls restricted freedom of movement, controlled employment, and prohibited alcoholic beverages. Little was done outside mission stations to educate or improve the well-being of the indigenous people. Police frequently were used to enforce regulations.

• Assimilation — widely accepted in the 1950s. It was generally thought that aborigines should become fully integrated with the European-type civilization of white Australians. Improvements began to be made in housing, health, and education.

In 1967 Australians voted overwhelmingly to

give the federal government power to legislate for aborigines in the states concurrently with state governments. Their numbers also were to be included in the national census. Subsequently an office of aboriginal affairs was established and a council appointed to advise the federal government.

• Self-determination — the present policy. It is designed to enable aborigines to choose their own way of life — whether a return to ancient tribal ways (and this is being done successfully in some areas) or to become part of the Western-type society.

When the present Labor government came to power in 1972, it provided considerable impetus to a movement that already had begun.

The government kept its promise to locate offices of aboriginal affairs in all states and appointed the Commission on Land Rights to try to resolve the compensation claims.

The commission's final report, in April, 1974, stressed that aborigines should be consulted fully about all proposals on their behalf, despite criticism from those wanting immediate action. It also recommended as much autonomy as possible for aborigines in

running their own affairs, but with ability for use of public money and land. The report did not recommend compensation for lost lands, but that aborigines should own title to their own which would be vested in corporations as land trusts and directed by a committee composed of aborigines.

Two such councils already have been established in the Northern Territory, one fifth of which is aborigine-owned, and exploitation of mineral resources (mainly bauxite, and manganese) has been a matter of controversy. The land-rights commission gestured that mining companies deal with the new trusts rather than with the communities, and the suggestion has followed and been found to work satisfactorily.

The Australian Government is spending more than \$210 million in fiscal year 1975 on housing, health, education, employment, legal aid for aborigines. And aborigines all over Australia have been electing national consultative committees to negotiate with Canberra on policies and programs.

## New Zealand's offshore oil search

By Denis Wederell  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Wellington, New Zealand  
Does oil rest beneath the waters off New Zealand?

A modern offshore rig is looking for it, but the project directors must cope with technical and governmental snags.

The rig, named Penrod 74, is reaching down toward a target depth of 14,000 feet at a drilling site west of this nation's North Island in a concession of the Shell-BP-Todd consortium.

Natural gas already has been discovered off New Zealand, in the huge, 282-square-mile area of the Cook Strait, between the North and South Islands. The gas should begin fueling Auckland, Wellington, and other New Zealand cities in

1978 through a pipeline now under construction.

Now the prospectors are looking for oil, but drilling is behind schedule due to technical problems.

Government policy has also gotten in the oilmen's way. The New Zealand Superior Development Company, Ltd., withdrew from an agreement with the Aquitaine-Murphy-Odeco consortium in January this year, because of restrictive government laws concerning oil exploration.

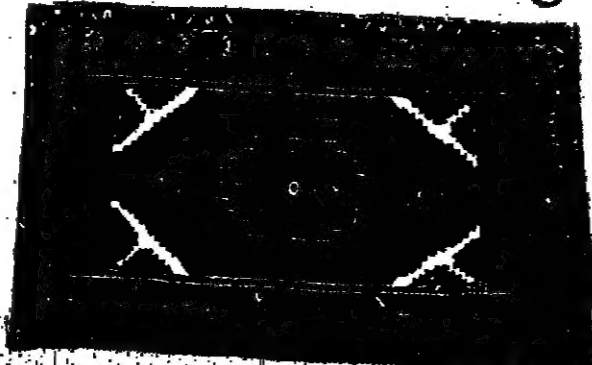
Last year the government said it would participate in the development of oil discoveries (but not in the search) and proposed to amend the law so that all future prospecting licenses would include a condition giving it the right to participate in any commercial production of oil. The law also would require that all oil and gas be sold to the state-owned New Zealand Petroleum and Minerals Corporation, which will expire this year.

## Benelux joins seat-belt bloc

By Renée  
Brussels  
Car drivers and front-seat passengers in the Benelux countries — Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg — must wear seat belts from June 1 by law, Belgian Transport Minister Josef Chabert announced. The belts must be worn in town as well as on highways.

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BE A MONITOR Watcher

# Torture case pits church against Chilean junta

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Santiago, Chile

The torture of a minor official of the outlawed Socialist Party is pushing Chile's Roman Catholic hierarchy into a confrontation with the ruling military junta.

Heretofore, the country's top churchmen, including Raul Cardinal Silva Henríquez, have tried to avoid such a confrontation — although vigorously condemning what they believe are serious infringements of basic human rights by the military.

Now, however, the church is faced with a torture case it cannot ignore.

It centers around Sergio Zamora, a longtime Socialist who was picked up by military intelligence agents on May 15.

For at least five hours he was interrogated by agents of DINA, a military organization whose job is to ferret out alleged subversives. DINA was founded after the military seized power. Its agents are often accused of using brutal torture tactics and of acting like a secret police.

During his interrogation by DINA, Mr. Zamora was beaten, burned repeatedly with cigarettes, and apparently given electric "shock treatments."

Eventually he told DINA agents he would cooperate — promising to level the finger at some other of his associates if he could be taken to the offices of the Committee for Peace, an organization sponsored by the church to assist torture victims, among other assignments. He indicated some of his associates would be found there.

As Mr. Zamora and his DINA interrogators arrived, he saw several churchmen at the entry and he literally leaped from the arms of his captors into the arms of the churchmen.

The incident becomes quite involved from this point on. While none of the story has been published in Santiago nor has it become common knowledge, the church and the military

were locked in a standoff for a number of hours late on May 15.

Eventually junta president Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, Cardinal Silva Henríquez, and the papal nuncio were involved. For several hours, as more churchmen and more DINA agents arrived, there was concern the military might invade the committee's office, which is on church property, in order to retake Mr. Zamora.

A church doctor, meanwhile, examined Mr. Zamora and confirmed the beatings and cigarette burns, urging immediate hospitalization for the victim.

Cardinal Silva Henríquez, said by some churchmen to have been most reluctant to get involved, talked by phone with General Pinochet who said he could not take the word of the church doctor, doubting that there had been any torture, and wanted an Army physician to examine the victim.

The Cardinal agreed to this in exchange for General Pinochet's promise to remove the DINA agents. Churchmen concerned for Mr. Zamora's health waited fruitlessly for two hours for the Army doctor, and finally decided in the early hours of May 16 to take Mr. Zamora to a Catholic hospital. He is still there, recovering from the injuries and under constant guard by churchmen.

All this comes against a growing disillusionment of churchmen over the military rule in Chile since the ouster of President Salvador Allende Gossens in September, 1973.

Lower members of the clergy are outright opponents of the regime, while top clergy have been reluctant to formally break with the military. But at the Chilean bishops' annual retreat last month, there was agreement to take a stronger stand against the military. There also were reports that the bishops drafted and sent a private letter on their concerns to General Pinochet.

Now the Zamora case, together with other recent torture incidents which the church believes to be true, is pushing the church into more open conflict with the military. A formal break is even considered possible.

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## Violence perils Argentine press

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Buenos Aires

A combination of government decrees, terrorist attacks, and other intimidations are seriously threatening Argentina's traditional freedom of the press.

In recent weeks these threats have mounted "to alarming proportions," an editor of a major Argentine newspaper said this week.

Last week, for example, the government decreed that newspapers here may not report any news or commentary about Argentina distributed by foreign news agencies.

Then last weekend, television screens carried advertisements, widely believed sponsored by the government, which attacked two Buenos Aires newspapers, El Cronista Comercial and La Opinión.

On top of all this, the financial writer of La Opinión was found murdered over the weekend — presumably the victim of a terrorist group. His death brings to more than 450 the number of Argentines killed by terrorists since last July 1.

Two other reporters are missing and concern for their safety is mounting.

All of this combines to frighten newspapermen here. Most of the Buenos Aires press, including the mass circulation La Prensa, La Nación, and Clarín, did not print on Tuesday of this week "in protest over the killing of Jorge Moroy, the financial writer of La Opinión."

But it is not only the press that is worried. So are many of Argentina's leading politicians and other figures.



## Terror gangs surface in Iran

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The terrorists in Iran who killed two U.S. Air Force officers last month are urban guerrillas. While religious, nationalist, and reformist in outlook, they are committed to assassination and violence.

Their numbers are small. They work far underground. And the Iranian secret police, Savak, has great difficulty in finding them.

The group is one of two that share some of the Marxist-Leninist concepts of the Communist Tudeh movement, which was suppressed in Iran in 1953 when the Shah succeeded, with American help, in returning from exile and

overthrowing Mossadegh's revolutionary regime.

But they insist that they are not ideological Marxists and avoid using the Marxist vocabulary.

Taking responsibility for the assassinations of Col. Paul R. Shaffer and Lt. Col. Jack J. Turner in Tehran was a group called the "people's warriors" (Mujaheddin-i-Khalq). The other group is the "people's guerrillas and fighters."

The two groups were probably involved in the killing on June 3, 1973, on a Tehran street of Lt. Col. Lewis Hawkins, who was helping build up the Iranian gendarmerie, and in numerous attacks with small and relatively harmless bombs on offices of the United States Information Services and of Pan American Airways.

The revolutionaries also have raided Iranian gendarmerie posts to seize arms.

The assassination of the two American officers this week was intended, according to sympathizers in this country, as "a warning to the Shah and to the United States."

To the Shah the guerrillas were saying, these sympathizers explain, that the recent execution of nine revolutionaries in an Iranian

prison will only stimulate the revolutionary movement.

To the United States they were saying, the sympathizers add, that Iran, contrary to the official Iranian propaganda, is not a "happy little kingdom," but a land wracked by internal stresses that make it highly undesirable for the United States to continue its close military association and economic involvement with the Shah.

The two groups of guerrillas number as few as 300 between them, according to one estimate, or 3,000 according to another.

The two movements, essentially similar except that they are separately organized, sympathize with but have no organizational ties to the remnants of the Social Democratic National Front, which was suppressed in Iran in the 1950s but which continues some underground political activity and still published a newspaper among students in Europe.

Neither the National Front nor the Tudeh are at present active as guerrillas. In contrast, they continue to exist as political movements. A clandestine radio probably financed by the Soviet Union and probably situated in Baghdad continues to broadcast support for the Tudeh and highly personal attacks on the Shah.

## Soviets woo Libya's Qaddafi

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon  
The Soviets and Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi, the anti-communist Libyan leader, appear to be improving their tentative partnership.

Soviet Premier Alexei N. Kosygin's visit to Libya last month saw some progress in the uneasy flirtation between Colonel Qaddafi's staunchly Islamic regime and Moscow, which has been selling tanks, missiles, and advanced MIG-23 aircraft to Libya for hard cash.

Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat recently told visitors that the Qaddafi regime — which has disapproved of all of President Sadat's efforts to seek Middle East peace through U.S. mediation efforts — could become an active threat to Egypt. Mr. Sadat has been glancing uneasily over his shoulder at Libya ever since union efforts between the two states broke down before the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

At about the time of Premier Kosygin's visit to Tripoli, the Libyan radio announced it was ceasing at-

tacks against Mr. Sadat "in the interests of Arab brotherhood." Mr. Sadat was then securing clearance in visits to the rulers of Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria to speak in the larger Arab interest when he meets President Ford in Salzburg, June 1. Mr. Sadat told a Beirut editor that he found the Libyan-Soviet togetherness "strange."

Moscow's desire to end past quarrels with Colonel

Qaddafi was symbolized by a gift Mr. Kosygin carried to him: a copy of the Koran, the Muslim holy book, which belonged to the Caliph Osman and dating from the early decades of Islam.

The Soviet visitors thus tried to please Colonel Qaddafi's Islamic sentiments and convey the greetings of millions of Soviet Muslims, who Colonel Qaddafi used to charge were oppressed and persecuted by Moscow.



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## Laotian towns face 'breakdown' say U.S. officials

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The new leftist regime in Laos will have a style of its own, distinct from that of the governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

But there is a large element of unpredictability in the situation, because so little is known in Vientiane of the workings of the Laotian Communist leadership. The highest leaders of the communist-style People's Party of Laos (PPL) have stayed in the background until now.

Phouphet Souphanouvong, chief of the joint political council set up under the Laos peace agreement, and other Pathet Lao leaders who have played a role in the coalition government are by no means mere figureheads. But the key leaders and decision makers in the PPL hierarchy have remained out of public view at the Pathet Lao headquarters in Sam Neua in northeastern Laos.

Although the North Vietnamese played a decisive role in advising and supporting, and sometimes fighting for, the Pathet Lao during the war years, Laos is not expected to follow the North Vietnamese model in every detail. North Vietnamese advisers were never completely happy with their Lao proteges' performance. They tended to regard some of the most highly disciplined Lao soldiers and

cadres as too easygoing and frivolous to suit their own puritanical style.

North Vietnam will be the dominant foreign power in Laos. But the Chinese will impose some geographical limits on the reach of the North Vietnamese through an extensive road network that they built and are continuing to expand in northern Laos.

The Soviet Union is thought to be content with a predominant North Vietnamese influence because it will limit that of the Chinese.

Both the Soviets and Chinese seemed fairly well satisfied with the coalition government of leftists, neutralists, and rightists that was established here after the signing of a peace agreement for Laos two years ago.

But with the leftists now firmly in control and the United States rapidly reducing its presence here, the Soviets and Chinese may be called upon to supply more aid. The United States until now has been by far the largest donor of economic aid to Laos.

Some of the American aid officials who are leaving Laos predict that the country soon will experience a virtual breakdown in technical services in the cities and towns.

"This country is going back a hundred years," said one disgruntled aid official.

"It's going to be another Burma pretty soon."

Thanks largely to U.S. aid, it is probably

true that the old Vientiane government had more technicians and administrators capable of dealing with things such as electricity than the Pathet Lao have had. Some of these

technicians have fled the country, while others have been replaced by what appear to be less-competent technicians and administrators.

## Sweep a street for Mao

By John Burns  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor  
© 1975 Toronto Globe and Mail

Headlines in the Peking People's Daily tell the story:  
"Young street sweepers love their profession."

"Hewing coal for the Motherland is fine."

Vocational guidance, China-style, consists of instilling in youth the idea that any work, no matter how menial or unpleasant, makes its contribution to the revolution.

Newspaper stories of the happiness of school graduates assigned to seemingly drab jobs sometimes strike an outsider as unreal, but they doubtless serve to soften the resistance that still exists.

The stories follow an invariable pattern, telling how the young people assigned to manual work overcome initial dislike for their tasks by studying Marxist texts and by talking to veteran workers who impress on them the

importance of subordinating individual preferences to the requirements of the revolution.

A typical piece recently recounted how middle-school graduates assigned to a street-sweeping squad on Shanghai's Nanking Road at first were reluctant to do the work, considering it demeaning. But local party officials soon had the problem in hand.

The graduates were organized to study the relevant writings of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and veteran street sweepers were called in to talk about life in the days before the Communists came to power.

"Sweeping roads," they told the young people, "is part of the revolutionary work and is indispensable to the building of socialism."

The story went on, "Through their study the young people came to understand that despising cleaning work is a reflection in the people's minds of the ideology of the landlords, the bourgeoisie, and all other exploiting classes. They vowed to challenge [such] ideas by sweeping roads for the revolution all their lives."

## The gentlemanly sportsmen of Asia

Chinese 'proletarian sportsmanship' stresses that it's not winning that matters but how you played the game

Special to The Christian Science Monitor  
© 1975 Toronto Globe and Mail

While China awaits a decision on its bid for membership in the International Olympic Committee (IOC), it is bending over backward to establish an image of itself as committed to sportsmanship of the highest order.

The official Hsinhua News Agency, in a report on the National Military Games at Peking told how a young soldier named Hsu Yung-sheng asked for the match point in a volleyball game to be replayed after the referee awarded the game to his side — because he had touched the final ball before it went wide of the court.

"The referee, impressed by this fine example of proletarian sportsmanship, promptly corrected his decision. Thereupon the spectators burst into enthusiastic applause," the agency said. Frustratingly, the report made no mention of whether soldier Hsu's team or its opponents eventually won the game.

In another demonstration of Chairman Mao's maxims on sportsmanship in action the agency recounted how a cross-country team from the Army's Poochow units coached a team from the Tsinan units it had defeated in a preliminary race and was subsequently defeated by the Tsinan team in the definitive contest.

During a badminton match between teams from the Wuhan and Kunming units, a player named Wang Heng-chien was similarly generous with advice for his defeated opponent, Li

Hsiao-ming. Mr. Li promptly went out and beat one of Mr. Wang's Wuhan teammates, but it was not enough to save the Kunming team from overall defeat.

To readers from the West, perhaps the most unusual aspect of the Hsinhua report was its approbation of the referee's habit of "cavessing comments from competitors" on uncertain points. This, said the report, demonstrated that the referees have successfully rid themselves of what it called "the bourgeois notion of referees' inviolable dignity."

Though Westerners often think it overdone, the lengths to which Chinese sportsmen will go to demonstrate their adherence to their motto of "friendship first, competition second" stand in remarkable contrast to prevailing standards in the West.

Players on the national ice hockey team have been known to rest their sticks on their knees and applaud when their opponents score goals, and any visiting player who is injured will find himself surrounded by solicitous Chinese opponents — whether or not the whistle has blown.

If the Chinese team competes in the 1976 games at Montreal, the urge to display this generosity toward opponents almost certainly will be offset by the need to demonstrate that China can hold its own in world-class competition. In fact, current standards suggest that the Peking squad would win few medals, especially in track and field where the national records are mostly well short of the Olympic best.

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North Koreans setting their sights on the South?

## Korea: new tension builds

By Guy Halverson  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
North Korea has reinforced its forces close to the demilitarized zone with the South by moving up parts of two armored divisions, according to reports here. It is also reported to have intensified tunneling operations along the DMZ.

Pentagon analysts are concerned that North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung, elated at Communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia, may be tempted to test the U.S. by a direct military thrust.

This concern, officials say, prompted Defense Secretary James Schlesinger to speak openly in recent days about the possibility of directly attacking North Korean military forces if a conflict were to arise.

At the same time, it is recalled here, China appears to be taking a cautious view. The joint communiqué that followed Premier Kim's recent visit to Peking emphasized the "peaceful reunification" of the two Koreas.

### Militarily:

1. North and South Korean armed forces units are believed to be somewhat balanced in combat abilities.

2. The North Koreans, however, have a far heavier Air Force than does South Korea and hence, a clear "offensive strike capability" against South Korean urban centers. It is for this reason that the U.S. military detachment in Korea (about 42,000) is considered crucial here.

3. The South Koreans, for their part, have a large tank force, considered important in the event of a large-scale conventional action, as a second Korean war would likely be.

The U.S. presence in Korea, the second largest force in Asia behind Japan (82,000) is considered politically vital not just for the South Koreans, but for the Japanese, who would presumably feel directly threatened by a Communist regime outflanking them on the entire Korean peninsula.

Officials of the U.S. force, however, argue that in effect the U.S. is a "hostage" to continuing rivalries between the two parts of the divided nation.

Troop breakdowns, according to Pentagon estimates and figures compiled by the London-based Institute of Strategic Studies are:

North Korea: Army, 410,000 men, including 22 infantry divisions, 1 motorized division, 20 surface-to-air missile battalions, 400 medium tanks, 80 light tanks, and 200 armored personnel

carriers. The Air Force numbers roughly 40,000 men, including 598 combat aircraft. There are at least 300 MIG 15s and MIG 17s, 130 MIG 21s and 70 MIG 19s. The North also has 70 or so Soviet-built bombers.

South Korea: Army, 560,000 men, including 23 infantry divisions, 1,000 tanks, and 400 armored personnel carriers. The Air Force numbers 25,000 men, including 210 combat aircraft, ranging from F-4s and F-86s to F-5As.

The United States: Spread through some 141 bases and installations, roughly 42,000 men in South Korea, including the 2nd Infantry Division. The Fifth Air Force has a tactical F-4 fighter wing at Kunsan Air Force Base, and a second F-4 wing at Osan Air Base. Each wing is believed to have between 50 and 75 planes.

Other jet aircraft, however, could be quickly flown in from Fifth Air Force installations in Okinawa and Japan. The Navy also has carrier-based jet aircraft in the Western Pacific.

Defense analysts note that in the event of war in Korea, China might counterbalance U.S. assistance to Seoul by dispatching troops to fight alongside northern forces as it did when war last ravaged the peninsula.

## Asian economies imperiled

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Singapore

The sudden change in the balance of power in Southeast Asia after the fall of the Cambodian and South Vietnamese governments could well have a grave economic impact on the surrounding countries.

Not only are these countries faced with the problem of dealing with the new political climate of the area but with drastic readjustment of their economic policies as well.

Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Singapore saw the Vietnam war as an opportunity to build up their own economies while leaving the wider political problems to the United States. Those economies had been hit hard by the British military withdrawal from Southeast Asia and by internal political troubles in the late 1960s.

Generally, the strategy worked. By 1968 President Suharto's administration had built up Indonesia economically and, with the

development of large oil deposits, investments were pouring in. In the Philippines martial law in 1972 reduced political chaos, and extensive investments attracted. And Arab and Western nations have been investing heavily in Malaysia that nation's recovery from its economic riots of 1969.

But this could change. The new Southeast Asian countries, newly independent, are now facing a worldwide slump in trade, by inflation, oil-price increases, now must face the possibility of a slowing down of investment in the wake of the withdrawal from Vietnam.

These countries are committed by of rapid industrialization and development for this they need to concentrate resources on internal development, continue to attract foreign aid.

New sources of investment will be found quickly. Japan would seem to be a prospect, followed by the Arab oil countries and possibly China.

## Sri Lanka: one-party rule predicted

By Jayantha Somasundaram  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Colombo, Sri Lanka  
A relative of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, himself high in the government, predicts that Sri Lanka soon may become a one-party state.

Felix Bandaranaike, Minister of the Interior and Justice and nephew of the Prime Minister's late husband, is regarded as an important political force in the nation.

He was appointed to the Cabinet in 1960 when Mrs. Bandaranaike succeeded her husband as Prime Minister after the latter was assassinated. After the Prime Minister aligned herself with the Marxists in 1964, Felix Bandaranaike increasingly came to be seen as a political alternative.

His view that the opposition could disappear

is based on the attempt of his Jayewardene, to force an election year is out. Mrs. Bandaranaike has her intention not to call a general election until May 22, 1977, in accordance with provisions of the new Constitution which she assumed office.

Felix Bandaranaike insists that his situation Mr. Jayewardene cannot achieve his goal and that the outcome, disintegration of his Conservative Party.

As a consequence, in Felix Bandaranaike's view, the Prime Minister's Cabinet government would absorb its own elements, the Trotskyist and Communist parties, whose identities would be lost.

The opposition, meanwhile, views the government's policy as one that is paving the way for one-party rule anyway.

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## Jobs issue crucial for Ford

It's tied to '76 race, and soaring city crime

By Richard L. Strout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Washington guesses that the waves of unemployment still will be breaking over the shores of politics in the election next year.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana told a shirt-sleeved group of reporters this week that he feels "economics, not foreign affairs" will dominate the presidential race.

Speaker Carl Albert, Mr. Mansfield's counterpart in the House, told another audience that crime growing from joblessness is "an atomic bomb in every street in America."

Economists widely think high unemployment will linger after other economic factors approach normal.

"While business will turn up, unemployment will hang high," says Walter Heller, top economic adviser to John F. Kennedy, "and unused capacity will be huge."

Staff economists at Senate and House Budget Committees guess that unemployment, now 8.9 percent, will first rise a little and then decline, slowly reaching 7.5 percent in November, 1976.

If correct, that means that President Ford must seek his expected election goal over a handicap of 7 million unemployed.

Another projection: crime will rise.

There are no solid-looking tabular "extrapolations" of the social thermometer, but in the turbulent 1960s, widespread unemployment was associated with a "long, hot summer." That meant social unrest.

Sociologists ask what it means in 1975-1976. The present recession is the worst since the

depression of the 1930s. It may have touched bottom, though some figures still decline.

"I think we are at the end of the recession," President Ford told reporters May 6. "I believe we can look forward to some improvement economically in the third and fourth quarters of 1975 and in 1976."

The income gap between rich and poor widens, economists say, in recessions. Most dangerous, declared some witnesses at a session called by the congressional Black Caucus here where Speaker Albert spoke, is teen-age unemployment. Witnesses cited Bureau of Labor Statistics figures that this amounts to 40.2 percent of blacks, 16 to 18.

Bernard Anderson, University of Pennsylvania economist, said that "an entire generation of black teen-agers will reach adulthood between now and 1980 without ever holding a job."

Criminologists feel there is a correlation between crime and unemployment.

Patrick V. Murphy, president of the Police Foundation, called high-unemployment slums "a modern-day debtors prison" from which residents could not escape, festering with social anger.

It is recalled that former President Richard M. Nixon made law and order an election issue in 1968 when he attacked alleged court leniency. The FBI announced last month that serious crime jumped 17 percent in the United States in 1974. In 1973, Mr. Nixon asked for an attack on crime "without pity."

In a recent speech at Yale, President Ford came back to the subject of crime with a new declaration in favor of firmness in dealing with the criminal. Heavy unemployment and a high crime rate, many feel, will bring a new round of debate on the issue in the 1976 election.



Big Sur, California By a staff photographer

California beaches — public or private?

## Californians want their beaches back

By David Winder  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Malibu, California  
Irate property owners are jamming public meetings in a last-ditch stand to keep the public off their private beaches up and down the California coastline.

They are protesting a coastal conservation program that calls for public access to private beaches.

The plan, viewed with interest beyond California because of its land-use implications, is under heavy fire from property owners, real-estate agents, developers, and utility companies.

Their primary irritation with the plan is a provision that owners of ocean front property must provide some form of public access such

as a path, stairway, or parking lot, allowing the public to enjoy their once private beaches.

Scores of lawsuits have been filed against this concept. Generally, the courts have come down strongly on the side of the coastal commission, which exercises strong permit controls over all development within 1,000 yards of the water.

There could also be fresh litigation when the plan becomes law next year. A legislative source in Sacramento says: "It's a whole new ball game then."

Even now some of the bigger issues have yet to be settled, such as powers of the successor agency to the coastal commission.

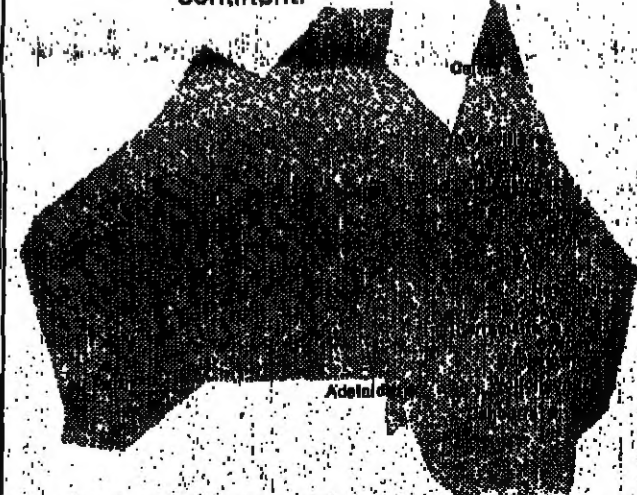
As much as 682 miles (61 percent) of California's 1,072-mile shore is private. Another 416 miles (39 percent) is nominally public. But approximately 100 miles of it is off limits because it belongs to the military.

Right now electronically operated doors, high walls, and bolted gates keep visitors out of long stretches of the Malibu coastline.

Here, expensive homes, some raised on stilts to avoid the surf, overlook clean, empty beaches and "No trespassing" signs.

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Plans for increase called 'political'

## Washington challenges Shah on oil price

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
U.S. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon is tilting lances with the Shah of Iran, in a last-ditch effort to ward off another oil-price hike by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Figures used by the Shah to justify an OPEC price boost this September are "false," Mr. Simon told this newspaper, and OPEC analysts appear to be "confused" in their reasoning.

The U.S. Treasury chief shredded the tenet pressed by the Shah — that OPEC members have lost 35 percent of their purchasing power since they last raised oil prices because of world inflation and the growing weakness of the dollar.

"The dollar," said Mr. Simon in a telephone interview, "is exactly where it was two years ago. In other words, there has been no deterioration of the dollar's position since oil prices climbed."

Prices of goods imported by OPEC powers, added Mr. Simon, "went up about 24 percent during 1974" — not the 35 percent claimed by the Shah recently on U.S. television. And, said the Treasury Secretary, "about one-third of

that 24 percent rise can be traced right back to the earlier rise in oil prices."

This September, U.S. officials concede, the 13 nations of OPEC are likely to raise the price of oil by an amount undetermined, possibly in the range of \$2 a barrel.

Currently Persian Gulf crude sells for more than \$11 a barrel — roughly 400 percent higher than two years ago.

Key OPEC members, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran, are cutting back production to keep prices high. "Control over supply," says a U.S. Treasury analysis, "is being used to maintain the fourfold price increase."

Now, according to the Shah, OPEC plans to hike prices further, an action which Mr. Simon terms "political," with no "justification in economic and financial facts."

Another price hike, said Mr. Simon, would compound the "economic damage" already done to the world by soaring oil prices, particularly to developing nations and to poor people in industrialized countries.

On the domestic front, meanwhile, President Ford is readying a major decision on energy policy, to be announced before he sets off for Europe Wednesday.

Mr. Ford may add a second \$1 a barrel tariff on imported oil. He also may begin the process

of decontrolling the price of "old oil," now frozen at \$5.25 a barrel.

More than 80 percent of all U.S. domestic oil, according to the Federal Energy Administration (FEA), is frozen at that price. The rest sells for about \$11.28 a barrel, comparable to the price of Persian Gulf crude.

By allowing the price of old oil to rise, Mr. Ford hopes to induce American oil companies to prospect for, and produce, more domestic oil, thereby lessening U.S. dependence on foreign petroleum.

Twice the President postponed adding a second \$1 tariff on imported oil — the first \$1 went into effect Feb. 1 — to give Congress time to produce its own energy plan. Unable to agree on policy, the House has shelved action until after the Memorial Day recess.

Rep. Al Ullman (D) of Oregon, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, says he "fully expects Congress to pass an energy bill after the recess."

"With that additional time," said Mr. Ullman Sunday on "Face the Nation" (CBS-TV), "we can zero in" on passing a comprehensive energy program without "crippling amendments."

Thrust of the House Ways and Means bill,

now sidetracked by the full House, is a 10-cent tax on gasoline, with a higher tax on consumption of more than 100 miles per gallon. It would limit to develop alternative energy sources, and limit the number of cars, beginning in model 1980.

"What the President is proposing, simply to raise the price of oil."

Another \$1-a-barrel tariff on imported oil would put another bulge in (U.S.) oil prices, Mr. Ullman, "is [for American] sound conservation policy in place."

The House Ways and Means bill agrees with Mr. Ford that the price should be decontrolled "over a period of years." Congress and the White House, he thinks, can reach a compromise.

The upshot, for American, will be higher prices for gasoline, fuel, and other petroleum products, cost of imported and domestic oil to go up.

Each \$1-a-barrel increase in crude oil, said Mr. Simon, adds 10¢ to the price of a gallon of gasoline.

## Refugees in a hurry to learn all about America

By David Winder  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Camp Pendleton, California  
If the Vietnamese refugees know nothing about hot dogs, baseball, or apple pie, it won't be for lack of trying.

Answers to everything American are sought in a bombardment of questions:

"Is Colorado really cooler than California?" asked one in a tone that wonders if anything can be cooler than the nippy ocean breeze rustling the grassy hillsides.

"Do the Americans not like us?"

"Are jobs harder to get now?"

"Where would you see a hockey game?"

Despite growing uncertainty about their future, and even misgivings by some on leaving Saigon, most Vietnamese refugees are

scurrying to adjust to a new way of life in the United States.

Classrooms under canvas spring up as quickly as chopsticks are dropped for plastic knives and forks; meals that were once lingers over, a la Saigonese, now are taken in breathless cafeteria fashion.

True, the Vietnamese women here at Camp Pendleton have chosen the plain bucket and outside faucet over the gleaming new washing machines offered by the Marine Corps. And the children gave volleyball only a cursory try before dropping the ball and reverting to their more traditional game of soccer.

But generally, the refugees are soaking up like a sponge all they can learn about the U.S. and try hard to get more information.

The most popular books at the tent library? Weighty government information books peppered with bone-dry statistics like the length

of the Mississippi River, or the number of representatives in the U.S. Congress, or who defeated the British at Yorktown. Much of the stress is on geography and history.

More practical hints also await the refugees. Thanks to the Coronado Baptist Church, hourly lectures on basic economics familiarize the Vietnamese with U.S. currency; inform them about banking practices; and educate them to the supermarket.

As Capt. John Curd of the Marine Corps put it, "They have to know they can't go into Macy's and haggle over the price."

While the young children are glued to afternoon television movies, their older brothers and sisters and even parents are busy taking courses. The most urgent: survival English, as a basic to learning to say "Hi" or "Where do I shop for this?"

But there is also a background of confusion, uncertainty, and even depression.

"If we have to stay here a long time, it is better we go back to Saigon," said a well-educated, professional Vietnamese.

The marines here have even volunteered to begin registering those who now desire to return to South Vietnam.

So far, only seven refugees have asked to return. Five of them said they would have wanted to remain in the United States if their families, still in Vietnam, were with them.

Bryce Torrence, head of the Red Cross here and a project director in Vietnam for 800,000 refugees, concedes "there is a sadness and a concern that the American people as a whole don't want them. They have gotten this idea somewhere. I don't feel this personally."

But Mr. Torrence sees them as people of great resilience and flexibility.

### A bad press?

By the Associated Press  
Charleston, S.C.

Retired Gen. William C. Westmoreland, former commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, says the news media should establish an ethics system and engage in self-policing like the medical and legal professions.

General Westmoreland, who led American forces at the height of U.S. involvement, criticized some unnamed Vietnam war correspondents as "ambulance chasers" — who didn't know beans about the military.

"Officers before being sent to Vietnam, were put through a course that introduced them to the people, the culture, guerrilla warfare," he said in an interview with the Charlotte News.

"I know of no such preparations for reporters."



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Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Los Angeles

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A dial-a-bus system just closed in San Jose, California, "because it was too successful," city officials say. It could not keep up with demand. But in the same six months it took for the San Jose system to begin and end, six other services started elsewhere in the U.S.

In 1974, 21 such systems were opened, compared to two in 1968, 14 in 1972, and 20 in 1973.

What is dial-a-bus's appeal? According to Dr. Paul O. Roberts, director of the Center for Transportation Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "A lot of people not presently served by the automobile — teenagers, the handicapped, and the elderly — are being served by dial-a-bus. It means a lot of the population not now mobile are a good deal more mobile."

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## Shirley Williams: First of the Labour Party

Never have women played such a significant role in British politics. In April Takashi Oka, the Monitor's London correspondent, looked at Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher. This week he talks to Labour Cabinet Minister Shirley Williams.

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Her full title is the Right Honorable Shirley Williams, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Prices and Consumer Protection.

She stood on the platform of the modest parish hall, open-necked pink shirt peeping out from under a rumpled gray tweedy suit, voice forthright and slightly husky, eyes looking straight out at her audience of some 200, shoulders relaxed.

Tonight it was Leeds, tomorrow Manchester and York, and so on. Shirley Williams was campaigning for her favorite cause, one on which she has staked her political career — to keep Britain in from either the Soviet Union or the United States.

"The Common Market isn't just about markets or the economy," she said. "It started out by being all about peace in Europe — and that isn't an insignificant price."

The audience applauded warmly but not loudly, and there were a couple of "hear, hears." For the most part, the faces upturned to the speaker were serious, intent, undecided.

The next morning, before setting out farther west, she would explain how she had become a devotee of British membership in the European Community.

"It goes all the way back to my school days," she went on, she found two worrying things about the United States. First, there was a degree of political conservatism that was no longer found in Western Europe — a readiness to Britain, whose "Testament of Youth," a novel about the World War I generation's attitudes toward war and peace.

Shirley Williams grew up in a European city, the shadow of Hitlerite Germany. Her parents were on the Gestapo list for citizenship in the United States.

That event never took place, of course. "We have reacted to what was happening by becoming bitter. But their only answer was to become more nationalist."

Brought up in this kind of atmosphere, she knew Britain and the United States during the war. She was schooling in Summit, Minnesota, and later attended university as well as Oxford. Mrs. Williams could not be an Atlanticist.

But her intellectual bent was toward socialism. She admitted that the term is so loosely used by so many to Europe to build a society that, as she told her Leeds audience, would be different from and better than the dictatorship of the Soviet Union and the inequality of the United States.

What did she mean by this statement? Was she referring to the United States with the Soviet Union?

"No, of course not," she told this reporter. "It's

"great imperial sectors of power" are labeled IBM or the Second Ministry of Machine Tools. "I fear a society where that much power is held by private or public interests. Power should devolve back to individuals — they should have more control over their destinies."

"Not to the state?" I interjected.

"Oh, no, not to the state," Mrs. Williams emphatically replied. "I think industrial democracy is the key. Cooperative movements, tenants' associations, parent-teacher groups, that sort of thing. That is what the Scandinavians are working towards. I think that what they are doing there is as far from communism as it is from an unrestricted free market."

Sometimes Shirley Williams is compared with Margaret Thatcher, leader of the opposition Conservatives, though the two are quite different in manner and temperament. If Mrs. Thatcher's success shows how the male grip can be pried loose even in as traditional a party as the Conservatives, Mrs. Williams is the hope of those who want to see a woman lead the Labour Party some day. She herself merely says diplomatically that male attitudes are changing, even toward sharing housework, and that it is becoming easier for women to seek a career outside the home.

She loves politics, she says, but she feels that only a neurotic would want to spend 24 hours a day at it. She tries to lead as normal a life as possible, enjoying music, the theater, and long walks in the country.

After her Leeds lecture, she visited awhile in the parish clubroom downstairs, where the ladies were enjoying their bingo night, then slipped off to telephone her 13-year-old daughter in London and to spend the evening in the home of an old Oxford friend and his wife.







## books

Gerald Brennan

## He wasn't afraid of Virginia Woolf

Personal Record 1926-1972, by Gerald Brennan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$12.50. London: Jonathan Cape. £8.

By Robert Nye

Gerald Brennan, now eighty years old, has known most of the famous writers of his time. It is this which gives interest to his volume of memoirs. His own contribution to English literature is minor but distinguished — he published interesting books about Spain before, during, and after the Spanish Civil War, and is the author of a book on the life and poetry of St. John of the Cross.

This autobiography reaches back to the beginning of 1920, when Mr. Brennan settled in

## Books

that province of Granada known as the Alpujarras. He was soon visited there by Lytton Strachey and Dora Carrington, traveling on mule-back. Strachey, the leading cynic of his day, is remembered now only for the mischievous nonsense of his book "Eminent Victorians." Carrington (she was never called by her first name) is a person of more complexity and charm. Mr. Brennan fell in love with her, and their complicated emotional relationship is honestly and lucidly analyzed in these pages.

Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster ("although I liked him as a man, I could not bear his novels which I thought were woolly and sentimental"), the Chinese scholar Arthur Waley, Hemingway, Bertrand Russell, Dylan Thomas — the chapters of "Personal Record" are thick with thumbnail sketches of the great writers Mr. Brennan has known.

Here he is on Hemingway: "What was certain was that all the masculine elements in his nature had been drawn out into his body and manner of expression, leaving the woman-

like feminine ones, which had made him such a fine artist, hidden within."

And on Dylan Thomas: "His gift for giving imaginative expression to emotion without passing it through an intellectual filter has led, in my opinion, to his writing some poetry of a high order, though often the method seemed rather a hit or miss one."

It will be seen that Mr. Brennan is adept at matching personal impressions with literary criticism. His remarks on the authors he has known never remain merely on the surface of things. He has an incisive intelligence and he delights in applying it to both men and books.

On the level of autobiography, this book is most successful and impressive for Mr. Brennan's account of his marriage to Gamel Woolsey. This rather shadowy and intriguing person, often encountered in the index of any book about the Powys brothers, has always fascinated me. It turns out that she was the sister of the American judge who gave the famous verdict which allowed James Joyce's novel "Ulysses" unimpeded circulation in the United States.

Mr. Brennan first met her in a Dorset village, where she was acting as a kind of muse both to John Cowper Powys and his brother Llewelyn. She seems to have been a rather sad and unfortunate woman, with literary ambitions never fulfilled — she wrote a novel which Gollancz accepted but never published, and a book of sonnets which T. S. Eliot rejected for Fobers, shattering her interest in writing altogether.

There are things more important than authorial fame, however, and Mr. Brennan's unsentimental but committed tribute to her personal qualities goes a long way toward redeeming what she may herself have felt was an unfulfilled existence.

This is exactly the kind of book which the ordinary reader may enjoy for its casual but

clear-eyed portraits of the truly great, and which literary historians of the future will value for its lack of bias and animosity. Mr. Brennan has no particular axe to swing or grind. He has grown beyond anxiety and writes without any desperate wish to please or to annoy.

It is the tone of the book which is its most attractive stylistic aspect. Not exactly urbane, but relaxed and pungent.

Mr. Brennan reminds me of something Sir Compton Mackenzie once said — that there is a merit in sundials, they show only the bright side of life. He writes like a sundial.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.



Gerald Brennan in 1920

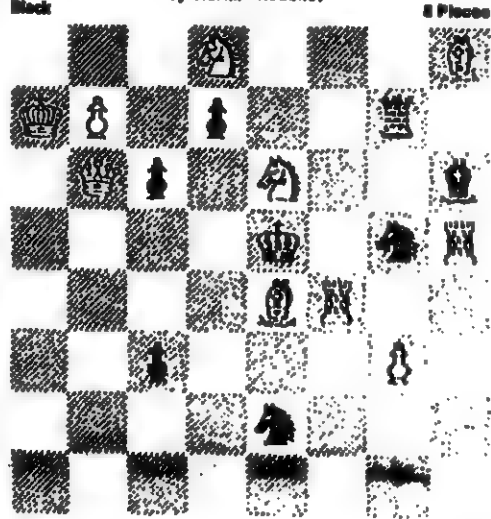
## chess

By Frederick R. Chevalier

Prepared for The Christian Science Monitor

## Problem No. 6697

By Vladimir Nishchay

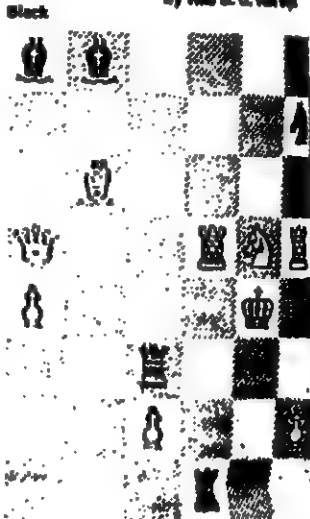


White to play and mate in two.

(Speak, Memory, 1947. A favorite with the composer, an eminent novelist, and, according to Bill Barclay, a world famous expert on tulip-eels)

## Problem No. 8

By Nils G. G. van der

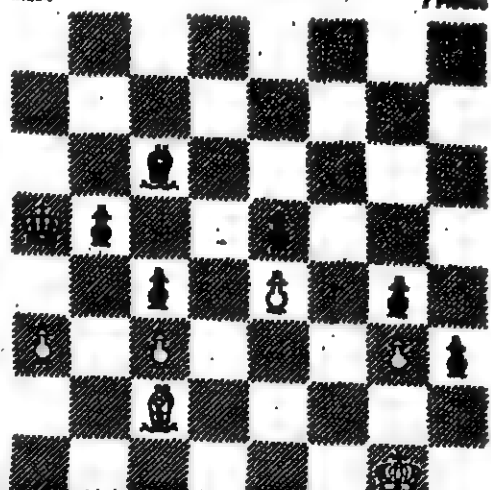


White to play and mate in three.

(First prize, Problemist, 1954)

## End-Game No. 2203

By Vladimir Nishchay



Black to play and win.

(Bogner-Fischer, New York, 1966-67. Cited by Burger in his new "The Chess of Bobby Fischer," the chapter heading being "Nothing but Thinking.")

## Solutions to Problems

No. 6697: 1 Q-B7 threatens 2 QxP. If 1... Kf2xP; 2 Kf1-K3. If 1... Kf2xP; 2 Kf1-K3.

End-Game No. 2203. White wins: 1 K-Q6, P-Q7; 2 K-B7, P-Q6/Q7; 3 R-R6ch, P-R7; 4 P-K5ch, K-R7; 5 P-K7ch, K-R7; 6 P-K8/Q mate.

## How to Lose to a Grandmaster

This game from the Las Vegas National Open, played last March, shows how an ambitious am-

ateur can trip when confronting a grandmaster. He underestimated the chances when he allowed 15 R-K4ch. Benko shared top honors in the Western Open, Peter Blyss of Toronto, and Jose Fentiz of Mexico, and Alan San Francisco. Each had scored eight-round scores.

## French Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-K4	1... P-K4	11 Q-K3	11... Q-K3
2 P-Q3	2... P-Q3	12 P-Q3	12... P-Q3
3 Kf1-K3	3... Kf1-K3	13 Kf1-K3	13... Kf1-K3
4 Kf1-K3	4... Kf1-K3	14 Kf1-K3	14... Kf1-K3
5 P-K5	5... P-K5	15 P-K5	15... P-K5
6 P-K5	6... P-K5	16 P-K5	16... P-K5
7 P-K5	7... P-K5	17 P-K5	17... P-K5
8 P-K5	8... P-K5	18 P-K5	18... P-K5
9 P-K5	9... P-K5	19 P-K5	19... P-K5
10 P-K5	10... P-K5	20 P-K5	20... P-K5

## Women's Olympiad

The sixth Women's Olympiad was held last fall. Two hundred women from 25 countries competed.

In the game below the women's champion defeated the number one player in the world, Bobby Fischer, in the 1974 event, for the Soviet Union. The game was played in the 1974 event, for the Soviet Union. The game was played in the 1974 event, for the Soviet Union.

## Sicilian Defense

White	Black	White	Black
1 P-K4	1... P-K4	11 Q-K3	11... Q-K3
2 P-K4	2... P-K4	12 P-Q3	12... P-Q3
3 P-Q3	3... P-Q3	13 Kf1-K3	13... Kf1-K3
4 Kf1-K3	4... Kf1-K3	14 Kf1-K3	14... Kf1-K3
5 P-K5	5... P-K5	15 P-K5	15... P-K5
6 P-K5	6... P-K5	16 P-K5	16... P-K5
7 P-K5	7... P-K5	17 P-K5	17... P-K5
8 P-K5	8... P-K5	18 P-K5	18... P-K5
9 P-K5	9... P-K5	19 P-K5	19... P-K5
10 P-K5	10... P-K5	20 P-K5	20... P-K5

## The future of film

By David Sterritt

During a recent discussion with film critics and journalists, director Alfred Hitchcock was asked what paths the motion-picture world is likely to follow in years to come. Without hesitation, the "master of suspense" answered simply: "The future of cinema lies in character. Human character."

This frankly humanistic statement, which must hold true for the future of any full-

## Film

fledged art form, could not have come at a more opportune time than these turbulent mid-'70s. During the past decade and a half, cinema has been swept by a tidal wave of sensationalism, technical trickery, and cynical audience-manipulation. Movies retain vast potential for growth as an entertainment medium and an aesthetic force. Yet the Hollywood dream machine, along with many European and Asian counterparts, has turned much of its energy to the production of nightmares. The overview of film as an expanding art form has been brushed aside.

In order to survive as a valid and valuable artistic arena, cinema must recover a concern with "human character" — in its finished products, and in the processes that lead to finished products. This does not, however, imply a hasty retreat to the "good old days" of euphemistic melodrama and coy comedy. Today's sophisticated ways and means can be readily adapted to freshly meaningful ends. And the filmmaker can find new energy through combining current technical resources with the human insights that must remain at the core of art.

The movies' present "nostalgia" fad indicates a stirring toward such an end. Tired with pictures that lastly mirror an unsettled time, audiences flock to splashy re-creations of "better" (if mythical) ages. Yet audiences play a key role in the progress of any popular



A glimpse of films to come?

Neil Duffin in "2001: A Space Odyssey"

art, and today's audiences are keenly educated in the complexities of audiovisual craftsmanship. Neither simple nostalgia nor simple sensationalism can satisfy the "film generation" for long.

Future decades will see continued growth away from both these extremes, toward a new visual artistry that will boggle our eyes and minds just as the epic "Birth of a Nation" boggled 1915 viewers accustomed to two-reel westerns and farces.

In short, today's trends and trappings matter little to tomorrow's movie progress. The future filmmaker will work from an altogether different bag of tricks. And he will be welcomed by new generations of knowledgeable moviegoers who — like many of today's young — have been nurtured on film and video from their earliest years.

A central factor in tomorrow's cinema will be a strong emphasis on the medium's visual possibilities. At first this shift will seem radical, since we are still accustomed to a highly literary and theatrical film tradition. Yet we have already been given vivid glimpses of what is to come: in the bold, nonlinear imagery of "2001: A Space Odyssey"; in the

multiscreen movies popular at "expos" and world's fairs; in the work of so-called "experimental" filmmakers, some of whom have already begun making waves within the Hollywood establishment.

The move toward a more purely visual cinema will have a twofold effect. First, it will provide moviemakers with new creative outlets, enabling them to startle and provoke without delving ever deeper into morally controversial subject matter (a tricky business for any popular art). And perhaps more important, it will provide filmmakers with a largely unexplored artistic vocabulary — enabling film to utilize fully the revolutionary implications of "abstract" and "expressionistic" tendencies already familiar to such visual arts as painting and sculpture.

Cinema will be refreshed and renewed, and from this renewal will spring whole new insights into the nature and potential of "human character" as viewed through art. Hitchcock's statement will be fulfilled, but in a manner unforeseen by most tradition-bound film philosophers.

First in a two-part series.



Alfred Hitchcock

## The four Musketeers' More rip-roaring swashbuckle

By David Sterritt

Return with us now to those thrilling days of yesteryear, when swash and buckle was buckle and — wait a minute, this is the same review I wrote a few months ago.

But then, it's almost the same movie I'm reviewing. The title is a little different; but cast, filmmaker, source, and sensibility have changed not a whit. Only the number of heroes has escalated. Now it's "The Four Musketeers."

Here's what happened: When director Richard Lester finished shooting his magnum "Musketeer" opus, so the story goes, he

started one and all — including his actors — by announcing that he had enough material for two (!) movies. The first was promptly released under the "Three Musketeers" moniker, bearing a subtitle — "The Queen's Jewels."

Part 2 was held back a while, but has lately come thundering in, also subtitled — "The Revenge of Milady."

By now, bumptious D'Artagnan has become fully the equal of his wild-and-wooly buddies. Hence the "Four" musketeers. They remain the same zany, boisterous, bawling bunch, hooding and mugging and swording their way through one overblown adventure after another. But there is a disappointment lurking in the background.

I'll explain in a minute, but first a word about the book. The second half of Alexandre Dumas' great novel turns darker, more resonant, more serious than the first. It's still fast, furious, and faintly (deliciously) crazy. But its mood shifts toward the right side of the spectrum. Psychology outweighs swashbuckling, and good finds itself hard-pressed against some very arrogant evil.

## Hungarians cheer rock musical

By Eric Bourne

## Hungary

A documentary rock musical has been filling the Viginhaz (Comedy Theater) here with enthusiastic audiences since its premiere during the Hungarian party congress in mid-March.

The play and its performance are unusual for the communist stage — and enjoyable even to the non-Hungarian-speaking viewer who

## Theater

must, therefore, miss the nuance of dialogue. It borrows with success from such famous Western musicals as "West Side Story" and "Hair."

There are jeans and good looks, long hair for both sexes — but no nudity. The cast of youngsters has a winning way with a series of attractive lyrics, backed up by a lively rock group calling themselves The Apostles.

The play is a lively, place-of-teamwork devised by director László Márton, with writer Geza Bereményi, experienced actor Andras Kern, and dramatist Zsuzsa Radnoti, together with 21 actors and actresses all in their early 20s.

It is, as the title "I am 20" suggests, concerned with the generation born as or just after World War II came to its end. These are youngsters who did not experience the conflict and its culmination in the overthrow of Hungary's domestic fascism (and the creation by the generation which survived the war of the new communist republic).

The story is told through a sequence built up from flights of memory and imagination, documents of the time and newspaper clippings, from the 30s and 40s to the present.

The script's concern is to focus on the ideas of today's youngsters and their views of the two difficult decades through which their parents lived. How might they have fared up to the "challenge of history"? Would they have done differently, or better?

## Too sensitive for Moscow show

By the Associated Press

Mobile color television, video, automatic telephone switching equipment, and oscilloscopes are among products to be displayed by American companies at a major Moscow communications exhibition in May.

Some 20 U.S. firms plan to take part in the "Soviet 75" show, the Soviet Union's first comprehensive international exhibition for communications systems and equipment.

But recession hardships and government export controls on some equipment with military potential are expected to preclude the Soviets from examining firsthand a variety of more sophisticated U.S. electronic gear.

"The situation is very bad," said Bettina Parker, head of a New York firm that has been seeking to promote American participation in the exhibition, scheduled to run from May 22 to June 5.

Despite this, major U.S. companies committed to join in the communications trade show include TTT, Ampex, Stromberg-Carlson Corporation, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., and Hewlett-Packard Company.

According to Electronics magazine, a trade publication, the Soviets wanted to see advanced superminiature sealed electro-magnetic relays as well as high-frequency coaxial miniature relays manufactured by Babcock Electronics Corporation.

## Books

ago — when Mary Baker Eddy, Founder and Discoverer of Christian Science, first published "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" — the Industrial Revolution was shaking Western society and threatening what had seemed till then the reassuring beliefs of the Christian faith. The book was a challenge to the individualism of the time, a challenge to the individualism of the time, a challenge to the individualism of the time.

In terms of the challenge of modern discoveries to Christian teaching, perhaps the most remarkable contribution in "Living Christian Science" is that of Horner E. Newell, former associate administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington, D.C.

Dr. Newell says: "... The constant evidence of new things that we experience as we explore the universe, are but indications of the infinitude of Mind [i.e. God], which never

stops unfolding and revealing itself. The material scientist would interpret these discoveries as newly discerned aspects of matter or energy, whereas the metaphysician would interpret such evidence as pointing toward the constant unfolding of infinite intelligence bringing new views of reality to light. When a man understands that Mind's infinitude fills all space, he loses his terror of the unknown and overcomes the fear of mortality, loss and death."

Others whose personal record we read in this book include a U.S. and a British diplomat, an Indonesian teacher and practitioner of Christian Science, an Argentinian international lawyer and former diplomat, a Nigerian radio producer, two prominent U.S. civil rights workers, a Metropolitan Opera star, and a young woman who, seeking escape in drugs, was rescued from them by the truth which Christian Science unveils about individual identity.

Some of these people came to Christian Science through their mothers or their spouses. Others, earnestly seeking the Truth, caught a glimpse for themselves of one of the infinite facets of the Deity available imperceptibly to the human mind, as Principle or as Love — and were then led on to the full revelation in the Christian Science textbook. The lesson for us all is that if it is only we earnestly seek after it.

Mrs. Babbitt's book will have a special interest for many Christian Scientists. Others reading it may perhaps need to be assured that there is more to Christian Science than the key to success in business or public life — that this religion offers a logical and complete solution to the problem of being on the basis of spiritual revelation. And this revelation — healing sin, sickness, and death — comes as a still, small voice not only to those achieving distinction in their field but also to such as the poor, wise man in Ecclesiastes who "by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man."

Geoffrey Goddell is the Monitor's news editor.



# financial

Will Chrysler make cars for Volkswagen?

## American auto giant could aid ailing German car firm

By Charles E. Dole  
Automotive editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The first Volkswagens will probably roll off a U.S. assembly line in the fall of 1976. After a devastating 18 months, the West German car maker has revived the idea that there is no way to continue in the American market without building at least some of its cars in the United States.

The continued weakness of the American dollar vis-a-vis the West German mark has forced a decision.

Toni Schmuckler, managing director of Volkswagenwerk, is planning to meet with at least one U.S. automaker this week. Although VW has not yet admitted such a meeting, Chrysler Corporation says talks are planned between Mr. Schmuckler and Lynn Townsend, the Chrysler chairman. Mr. Schmuckler arrived in the United States recently accompanied by Friedrich Thome, VW vice-president for finance.

Mr. Schmuckler wants to make a deal for assembly of the fast-selling Rabbit in a U.S. plant similar to the link which VW now has with Nissan in Australia.

The maker of the Japanese Datsun pays VW for building cars in Australia so that Nissan

does not have to become involved in the high-front-end-cost manufacturing process itself.

"We would only bring in a group of quality-control and inspection people," says Arthur Ralton, a vice-president for Volkswagen of America, Inc., the U.S. importer.

VW, in effect, wants to put more American dollar content into the cars as quickly as possible. Paying a U.S. carmaker to build VWs would solve the problem, in the view of Mr. Ralton.

The West German manufacturer would ship over the parts which require a big investment, such as the engine blocks, stampings, etc. It already buys glass, tires, batteries, alternators, and other hang-on parts in the United States, ships them to Germany, and then they return in the completed cars.

"This is a huge waste of money," notes Mr. Ralton.

"Our problem is trying to increase the percentage of dollar content because every time we put in a dollar in the United States we save ourselves the big dollar depreciation in the international market."

Volkswagen of America pays for the cars it buys in West German marks; then turns around and sells the cars in U.S. dollars. It cannot charge enough dollars for its products to make a profit because of the competitive pressures of the marketplace. Therefore it is

said to lose money on every car it sells in the United States.

VW made its reputation on the 25-cent D-mark; today the D-mark is pegged at 43 cents.

A tie-in with VW could be a boon to a company such as Chrysler. Burdened with excess capacity because of the severe downturn in car sales during the last year and a half, Chrysler could recall many production workers and make some money if it were to build some 200,000 additional cars a year.

Further, Chrysler is planning to bring out a subcompact later in the decade and it could buy the lively, economical, high-mileage 4-cylinder engine which VW now uses in the Rabbit, Scirocco, and Dasher. The 1,500-cc engine is credited with 38 miles to a gallon on the highway.

Rudolph Leiding, Mr. Schmuckler's predecessor at the VW helm, was forced to quit last fall over sagging sales, huge losses, rising unemployment in Germany, and his insistence on building an assembly facility in the United States.

Mr. Leiding's idea was to develop a complex production facility in the United States and had estimated the cash outlay at upwards of \$1 billion. The supervisory board of directors, which is responsible for long-range planning

for the company, was adamantly against the plan.

Mr. Ralton says he believes the board is more amenable to the idea of Mr. Schmuckler.

The VW chief is expected to have several other interests in the United States, perhaps even including American models come out. From a high mark of 475,000 cars several years ago, VW's sales have fallen to about 100,000 a year. Its losses may run as high as \$50 million.

"It's a drastic situation and we're something fast," says the VW spokesman. "Car assembly in the United States is expected to reduce the car's profit," declares Mr. Ralton.

"We've been expecting the dollar to go back," he concludes. "Our loss the dollar will not strengthen a mark in any appreciable amount of time."

The company seems to be doing something it can do — or wave at the American market.

## Honeywell wins French computers

By Philip W. Whitcomb  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

A Gaullist dream of French computer independence and a Pompidou dream of European computer unity were shattered this month by the Giscardian adoption of an Atlantic plan dominated by Honeywell, Inc., a major U.S. computer maker.

The events that began in 1964 with the financial difficulties of the only French computer firm, Bull, and its take-over first by General Electric and then by Honeywell, ended on May 12, of this year with the French Government's approval of Honeywell's takeover of CII (Compagnie Internationale de l'Informatique).

The 1964 take-over of Bull had been inevitable because of its financial failure. In December of that year, however, General de Gaulle declared that France would thereafter be independent in the computer field.

The CII was then formed, but in spite of government subsidies and pressures, its Toulouse plant, with 1,700 workers, operated at a loss. It attained sales of less than one-tenth of the total being made in France by IBM and Honeywell. (At current exchange rates, IBM-France sales totaled \$1.5 billion in 1974; Honeywell, \$615 million.)

The computer independence hoped for by

General de Gaulle had become clearly impossible. President Georges Pompidou decided on an all-European solution. An agreement for a semi-merger with Philips of Holland and Siemens of Germany, to be known as Unidata, was concluded in July, 1973. Its only output has been a computerized program of all the options open to a three-nation cooperative in the computer field.

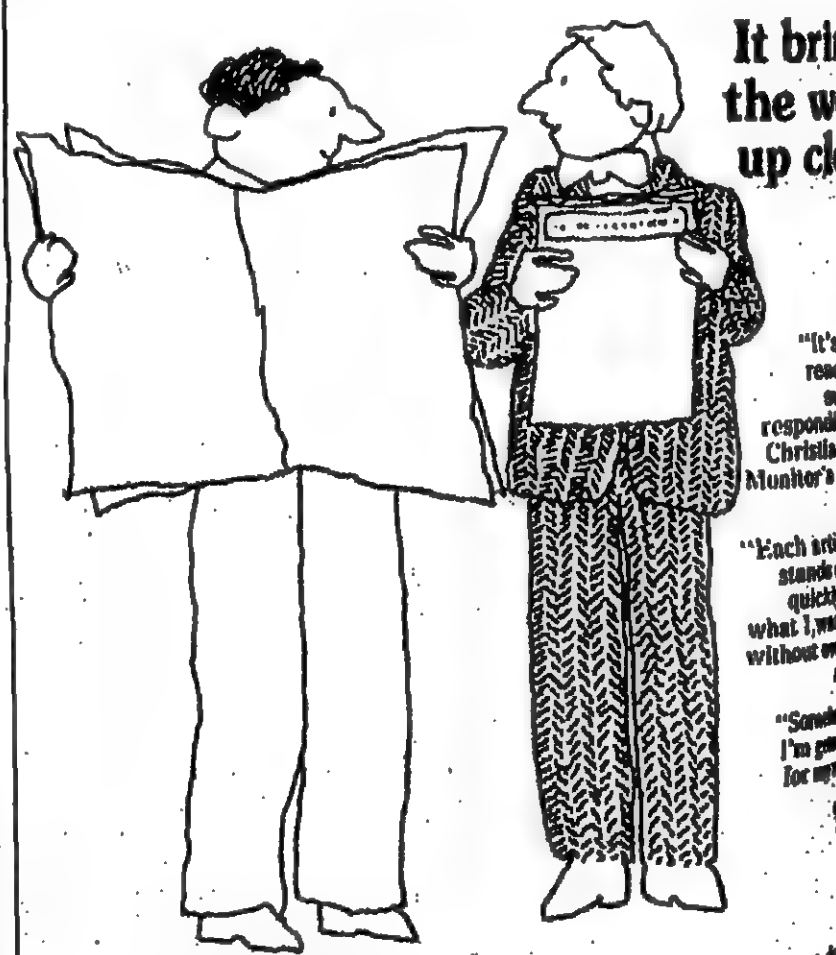
By the beginning of 1975 it had become clear to almost everyone that the plan for French independence and the plan for European union were equally impossible. In order to protect employment, to maintain exports and to protect security in case of wars or embargoes, however improbable, a self-supporting computer builder was held to be essential to France.

One problem remained: How was national pride — a vital matter in France — to be protected after 11 years of promises if once again an American firm was to become dominant?

The solution was easy. The French Government paid Honeywell, Inc., \$63 million for 19 percent of Honeywell-Bull, thus reducing the American interest in the new company to 47 percent. This allows the government to assure the objectors among the Gaullists and the labor unions that the final solution is indeed French.

The facts are rather different. Techniques will be Honeywell's. And the financial success of the company will depend not on the limited French national market but on world sales.

And the world sales will depend on the Honeywell name and the Honeywell world reputation.



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British pound	2.304
Canadian dollar	0.68
Colombian peso	0.34
Danish krone	1.87
French franc	247
Dutch guilder	418
Hong Kong dollar	2.08
Israeli pound	1.80
Italian lira	0.01
Japanese yen	0.03
Mexican peso	0.80
Norwegian krone	2.03
Portuguese escudo	0.41
South African rand	1.475
Spanish peseta	0.18
Swedish krona	2.56
Swiss franc	3.98
Venezuelan bolivar	234
W. German deutsche mark	4.27

# people/places/things



Mr. Magee and bees: they don't have the time to sting



Unwillingly pollinating: bee goes to work on a blossom

## Rent-a-bee service brings a blush to orchards

A wave of bee rustling and hive-hijacking has erupted in the U.S. as insecticides and damp weather deplete the nation's bee colonies

By Stewart Dill McBride  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

West Bridgewater, Massachusetts

Frederic Magee hires out the bees in his backyard — all one million of them.

About this time every year when May's orchard blossoms show their colors, his phone is ringing with fruit growers' requests for his bees to pollinate their crops.

Decked out in elbow-length gloves and head-veil, Mr. Magee has already started trucking his hives at night to the neighboring apricot and apple orchards. A week of warm days is sufficient for a hive of 50,000 bees to set seed and "trull" two acres of fruit trees.

This airconditioner repairman who tends to his insects after work is taking advantage — along with hundreds of other beekeepers across the nation — of a little known fact: honeybees are more valuable for pollinating than for making honey. Researchers say that ultimately the busy little honeybee could hold the secret to vast increases in the nation's food production.

But there is a national shortage of the bees today. Several years of cool, damp weather, and the growing use of pesticides and insecticides by farmers are cutting into their numbers.

Result out West: bee rustling, and hive hijacking. "Bees are being rustled all over the United States," says Harold Achtenhagen, a beekeeper for 22 years in Western Illinois. Bees are scarce around the world, also; shortages and theft have reached such proportions that the topic made it onto the agenda of the recent World Food Conference in Rome and was extensively discussed at the January meeting of the American Honey Producers Association. Bee suppliers now are recommending their customers brand their hives to deter rustlers.

And the bee renters' market is booming.

The annual honey production in the United States has fallen from 131 million pounds in 1973 to 100 million pounds last year. Demand is growing for increased food production, and there is a need to import vast quantities of honey from countries like Mexico.

The bee business, though potentially lucrative, has some problems, too.

Like most businesses these days, honeybee pollination services have not been spared from the sting of inflation.

The high price of sugar and honey, its substitute, has tripled the price of three pounds of bees (from \$7.50 to \$22.75) in the last four years. Consequently beekeepers have had to raise their rental fees to as much as \$30 a hive. (According to Mr. Magee, the rate varies with the frequency that the given fruit grower uses insecticides on his crops.)

It took some while for his sunbathing neighbors to get used to the fact that Milo Bacon, a Massachusetts beekeeper for 51 years, had some 50,000 bees nesting in his backyard. But occasional lectures on the "gentleness of the honeybee" was a lot of comfort.

Some beekeepers now go to the effort of disguising their hives as doghouses to keep from arousing their neighbors' fear. Others are painting them green to blend with the grass.

Equipped with furry bodies, long tongues, and special pollen sacks, honeybees rank as the world's principal pollinator. Roughly 100 agricultural crops ranging from cucumbers to almonds to peaches would not reproduce without their aid.

The U.S.'s annual 74 million ton harvest of alfalfa — essential to dairy and meat production — would dwindle to nothing without the bees' services.

Even with self-pollinating plants such as strawberries and citrus fruits, cross-pollination by honeybees can increase the size, quality, and harvest. Experiments at the University of Wisconsin show, for example, that the introduction of bees to an acre of cranberries can more than quadruple production.

Valuable soybean harvests can be increased at least 16 percent with the systematic introduction of bees, says research entomologist Eric H. Erickson from the North-central Bee Culture Laboratory of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Madison, Wisconsin.

Ironically, pollination services provided by the honeybee — only one of some 10,000 bee species in the U.S. — are entirely unintentional. From the bees' point of view, their only job is to collect pollen (to be fed as protein to the younger bees) and gather nectar — (which is eventually evaporated into honey) as food for the entire hive.

Each colony (one colony per hive) needs about 80 to 90 pounds of honey to nourish itself through the nectarless winter. Any excess — which ranges from 80 to 100 pounds — is a fair game for the beekeeper at the end of summer.

In contrast to the large commercial beekeeping and pollination operations in the West, Midwest, and South, beekeepers in the Eastern United States, Canada, and Europe are smaller scale and most often are part-time hobbyists.

Mr. Magee, for instance, who has only 18 hives, now is making more money selling bee supplies to beginners than he is on bee rentals and honey production — and for good reason.

Within the last few years the ranks of the amateur beekeepers has been buzzing with activity.

Local, national, and even international beekeepers' associations (like Apimondia) meet regularly to discuss trade

secrets and research in the realm of honey production, pollination, and bee breeding.

"It's nicer than having a cow. And you don't have to check them as often," says Mrs. Magee who helps her husband extract and jar the honey in their basement.

Mr. Bacon, says his beginners' class in February has grown from 40 to 200 students in the last five years.

Furthermore, the growth in the numbers of bee hobbyists throughout the world has aggravated the shortage of American queen bees, says Elliott Curtis, vice-president of the American Bee Breeder Association.

"We've already sold 13,000 queens this year and could have sold 20,000 but we didn't have them," says Mr. Curtis who raises bees in LaBelle, Florida, and rents out some 500 hives to watermelon and cucumber farmers in the area.

The price of queen bees has gone from \$1.80 in 1973 to \$5.50 this year. Nevertheless, Mr. Curtis is still receiving orders from beekeepers throughout the U.S. and from as far away as Iran, Brazil, England, and Australia.

Beekeeper associations say it is becoming evident that you don't have to live down on the farm to keep bees in your backyard. Honeybees, they say, are capable of flying up to 2 1/2 miles from their hive (covering a 1,200 square acre area). "That's a lot of flora even with all the blacktop and sidewalks," says Mr. Magee.

A worker bee who has discovered nectar-rich fields is able to signal the exact location to the other bees back in the hive by a complicated "waggle dance" — pointing out the direction with her body and the appropriate distance with the rapidity of her wiggle. (All the workers are female.)

Bee breeders who have already produced bees which make more honey now are at work to find the secret of breeding bees which are better pollinators.

Aside from the rising cost of beekeeping equipment (beginners kits have gone from \$25 to \$75 in three years) the only real impediment to the growth of this popular hobby-business is the "public phobia for bees," says veteran Mr. Bacon.

"People are still confusing the honeybees with yellow jackets and hornets. But they are as different as cats and skunks," adds the suburban Boston beekeeper as he strolls out to his one hive humming under a backyard apple tree.

Delicately prying open the hive top, he lifts out one of the honey-combed frames. Some 2,000 golden insects buzz by the occasional puffs from Mr. Bacon's "smokepot," gling to the tray like magnets. He wears neither gloves nor veil.

"The Italian honeybee, which predominates in the United States is bred to be docile and nonbelligent," he explains.

Bringing the tray of bees within inches of his face, he adds, "When they're busy collecting nectar and making honey, they don't have the time or even the desire to use their stingers."



# people/places/things

## Breathing life into stone

A master carver explains his exacting, precise profession

By Eric Siegel  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Roger Morigi lives in a world of limestone, marble, granite, of chisels, mallets, and elaborate calibrators. Mr. Morigi is a master stone carver, one of the few in the United States.

His work adorns churches, banks, court-houses, and many of the federal buildings in the nation's capital, including the Supreme Court Building, the Post Office Building, and the edifices housing the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and Labor. It includes tympanums, the ornamental space over a doorway; small statuettes; and larger Biblical and pastoral scenes.

He is small, around five feet tall, but stocky. And his forearms, strengthened by more than half a century of practicing his craft, are like those of a much larger man.

Mr. Morigi works now in a small fenced-in area on the grounds of the Washington Cathedral in the northwest section of the city, doing interpretive religious carvings, supervising four other carvers and an apprentice. The area consists of two small, heated, wooden work sheds and a small yard containing perhaps two dozen blocks of uncut stone.

The making of a carving actually begins with a sketch and then two full-scale models—one of clay and one of plaster. Mr. Morigi has made sketches and models before, but now does only carving. "There are many who can make a plaster model," he says, "but only a few who can carve stone."

Once the plaster model is made, it is fastened to a wooden beam in the shed. Against another nearby beam hangs the uncut piece of stone, suspended by a large pulley.

The roughest cuts are made with a powered chisel. "This is the only part of stone carving that's changed," Mr. Morigi explains. "The rest of the carving is done by hand, the same as it was centuries ago."

Metal pegs are attached to the same point on the model and the piece of stone. A precision calibrator, attached to a long, hinged metal

arm, fits on the end of the peg. It is used to measure the indentations.

A stone carver begins with the most obtrusive point on the model. If, for example, one was making a front-on carving of Pinocchio, one would begin with the tip of his nose.

The calibrator is then set at the tip of the nose on the model, and the instrument is moved to the peg on the stone. The stone is chiseled until its measurements conform to those of the plaster model. A vertical calibrator measures the height of a carving.

Measurements are constantly checked and rechecked. If too much stone is chiseled away, the mistake is irrevocable.

While most of the close carving is done by striking the end of a chisel with a wooden mallet, Mr. Morigi does the most precise work by simply twisting the chisel with his hands, gouging out a few flecks of stone.

The conformations must be exact. A difference of 1/16th of an inch between, say, the eyeball of a fish on the model and that on the stone does not satisfy the carver. "Without the correct measurement, the carving will not be right," Mr. Morigi declares.

Many occupations require precision; but in the main they are technical, not artistic. What raises stone carving to art is the sense of shape it demands, he feels.

The skill of chiseling stone to a measured point can be acquired by someone with a keen eye, a steady hand, and patience. Likewise, the knowledge of what each of the stone carver's vast array of chisels can do can be picked up by observation and practice. But the feel for, say, the slope of a figure's shoulder is, as the stone carver puts it, "a gift."

"There are things you need to be a stone carver that you just can't explain," he adds.

Mr. Morigi's father also was a stone carver, and Mr. Morigi began learning about stone carving at the age of nine. "Where I came from (in northern Italy), stone carving was the main industry," he explains.

At the age of 12 he enrolled in a school in Milan, where he studied drawing, sculpturing, and carving for nine years. At 21, he followed



Roger Morigi: It's the gift that counts

his father to New Haven, Connecticut, spending the next four years there and in New York City before coming to Washington in 1932.

Mr. Morigi says that, despite the depression, business for stone carvers boomed until World War II. "At that time, most of the architecture was Renaissance, Gothic, and Baroque," he says. "Since the war, the buildings seem to be all straight up and down and made of glass and steel."

There has been a decline, too, in the number of stone carvers, with the passing of many of the old masters. "I used to know over 200 stone carvers in New York City," Mr. Morigi says. "Now I know one."

Mr. Morigi's son became a stage designer. Of his apprentice, who is 23 and just beginning, Mr. Morigi says, "If he has the ambition,

he can learn, though it is better younger."

For the master, perseverance is needed. "Sometimes you run into the put you back," Mr. Morigi says. "I have a bad piece of stone, with bad structure."

Even without such problems, a high statue can take two months to carve. Mr. Morigi's more ambitious carved Christ the Majestic, took six years. It is 11 feet tall and was carved in sections.

Mr. Morigi says such figures and statues are interesting to carve than ornate any type of carving gives him pleasure and satisfaction," he says, "comes out something grow from a stone."

## Seals breed close to man

By Larry Wood  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

A visit to California's Ano Nuevo wildlife reserve is the next best thing to being with Jacques Cousteau on the Calypso. According to Roger Werts, manager of the San Mateo County state beaches, "This is the only known spot in the world where elephant seals regularly visit the mainland."

The seals live most of the time at sea and come ashore, usually on a remote island, for a few months in order to give birth, to breed, and to molt. During this period, visitors to Ano Nuevo can see the mammoth mammals, photograph them close-up, and observe their habits and behavior. And they can observe with

in the milk, the northern elephant seal breed only on the Isla de Guadalupe. In those years, the massive animals were exploited by man to the extent that they were almost extinct by 1869. The only known population was a herd of about 100 animals. In 1922, the Mexican Government, followed soon by the United States, set up laws to protect the few that were left.

In 1935, the enormous fleshy nosed pinnipeds were first sighted on Ano Nuevo Island, a refuge off California's San Mateo coastline located 17 miles from Santa Cruz and 65 miles from San Francisco.

The elephant seal population then began to increase, and the mammals were observed by scientists in the area from Cabo San Lazaro, Baja California, to Point Reyes. Now the experts estimate there are about 30,000 northern elephant seals in existence. Many of these

creatures winter on inaccessible off-islands, including the Farallones off California. On Ano Nuevo, this year's elephant seal count totals about 600.

Other pinnipeds who share the rocks and beaches with the elephant seals include Stellar sea lions, California sea lions, and harbor seals. The island itself is a totally wild sanctuary and has long been closed to everyone but a few scientists.

Last year the seals began to swim from Ano Nuevo Island across the channel to the mainland, where they hauled out on the beaches of the state preserve.

This year visitors to that area have been able to see another "first" — the birth of blue, the first baby elephant seal ever born on the mainland.

Berta, who weaned the young female in February, has mated again and will soon return to sea. Because elephant seals follow traditional patterns, she will return to Ano Nuevo again next year for the birth of her pup. Blue, like other elephant seal pups, will live off her blubber while making the transition from her mother's milk to solid food.

After mother seals leave Ano Nuevo, the weaned pups remain and explore the shallow waters. During this time, their black fur molts and is replaced by a shiny, silver coat. Then they, too, go out to sea.

At birth the pups are about 4 1/2 to 5 feet long and weigh approximately 65 pounds. By the time they are weaned, they weigh between 300 and 400 pounds.

Adult male northern elephant seals average 16 feet in length and weigh two tons. The adult females are usually between 10 and 12 feet long and weigh approximately one ton. The



Bull elephant seal rests in California's Ano Nuevo wildlife reserve

animals have a six-inch-thick layer of blubber when they arrive at Ano Nuevo for the breeding season. But this blubber "melts" away while they are on land because the females eat nothing for a month and the males sometimes go without food for as long as three months.

The northern elephant seal (*M. angustirostris*) is slightly smaller than the southern species (*M. rostrata*), which averages 20 feet in length, three tons in weight, and is the largest of all pinnipeds.

Holiday and weekend visitors might have to wait their turn before they get a look at the mammals. Because the wild seals need a peaceful and relatively undisturbed sanctuary, the public must join small tour groups that visit the hauling-out areas between 8 a.m. and 3:30 p.m. on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays.

Free guided tours leave the park at New Year's Creek Road every 15 minutes. Sometimes the wait can be as long as hours. The trip itself is three miles long and takes 1 1/2 hours. Visitors can enter the park unescorted on weekdays.

The seals do not seem to object to the presence, and the experience of seeing the mammoth creatures is unforgettable. Werts says that, under the present laws, the people are safe from danger and the animals have a peaceful, protected environment.

The park service, so far, has been able to handle the crowds who turn up to see the elephant seals. (In the month of January, more than 15,000 people visited the Ano Nuevo State Reserve, during January people went on guided hikes.)

# home

## Low-cost tables you can make

Salvaged materials put to unexpected uses

By Marilyn Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Sketches by Ann Matthews

New York  
Low tables are necessary for sitting around, for eating and drinking around, and for thinking and talking around.

Here are some do-it-yourself ideas that several young couples we know have found practical and relatively inexpensive. Certainly they are different. And each brings a character of its own to a home or porch or patio.

A simple table can be made of four large cement blocks, selected from the stock of any cement company or building supply house. Highly decorative versions, such as ones with four cut-out petals in the center, are sometimes available. They can be clustered at right angles to each other, and a potted fern placed in the center. A large circle of heavy glass (cut to desired size by any local glass company) fits over the top of the blocks. Small circles of felt glued to the tops of the blocks keep glass top from being scratched.

Another couple discovered an old stained glass door in a junk shop. They then attached the door to 2-by-2 pine legs, and it serves as a coffee table. They find the leaded glass is tough enough to withstand the kind of use they give it. If they felt the stained glass needed further protection, they could have a clear glass panel cut the same size as the stained glass to fit over the top.

One artistic husband decided to make a free-form rough plank coffee table which would be suitable for use on the porch. He found old barn timbers, lichen gray in color, and joined them by means of cross-boards over the bottom. He then sketched out his own free-form shape, with pencil, and cut it out with an electric saw. (The pattern could also be cut out at a lumber yard, for a fee.)

Again, heavy pine legs were used to support the top. Nuts, potted fern, candle clusters, heaped plates of fresh fruit, and mugs complete the hospitable setting.



Do-it-yourself tables utilizing heavy glass, cement blocks, a stained glass door, and barn timbers.

## The Chinese look: all the rage in New York

Predicted as hot seller in trendy circles is the padded Chinese jacket that comes in pure silk and lowly quilted cotton.

By Phyllis Feldkamp  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
The Orient influenced fashion briefly after the onset of détente between the United States and the Chinese mainland a few years ago. Then the influence fizzled out.

Now Chinolerie has reappeared. In advance showings in Paris and on Seventh Avenue it seems to be coming on like firecrackers for fall.

Nearly every American designer in price brackets from \$50 retail on up — and up — offers a padded or quilted jacket, uses frog-fastened side closings, and includes a straight-line garment or two with a mandarin collar.

In most New York collections Orientalia is merely the point of departure for new shapes or decorative details. But some designers are taking a round trip on the Orient Express for fall, going both high-class Ming and proletarian Mao.

Korean-born Cathy Hardwick, a corner whose firm, Cathy Hardwick & Friends, is only six months old but whose attractively priced, clever designs have already been

discovered by buyers, has colorful quilted, flowered underwear that reverses, as many coats and jackets do for fall, to a contrasting solid color. For late day, she does this Far Eastern jacquard silk in the "cheong" and in coolie pajama styles.

The slender line of the classic Chinese high-necked dress is being adapted at John Anthony, as well as elsewhere, for tubular coats of melton cloth or mohair.

Albert Capraro for Jerry Gittenberg, whose clothes First Lady Betty Ford admires, not only quilted poplin coats but also the boots to match them. At Domnick sweater coats of Imperial yellow, are knitted to resemble quilting.

At Halre for Friedrich's opening, gongs sounded, reedy music played, models in braided frosted gray-flannel coats wore gray-flannel pagoda hats to match and, for a finale, came out in most honorable concubine dresses of vivid satin, flowers tucked in their Chinese doll hairdos.

Cinnabar bracelets, jade pendants, and ricksha-boy hats all contribute to the chow mein being cooked up for fall. Orientalia is not the lone ethnic influence, but it overpowers

the Tibetan and South American touches at Carol Horn for Habitat and the North African and Turkish at Giorgio di Sant'Angelo.

Signs are already in the wind that the Chinese trend could turn faddy and burn itself out by fall. Predicted as the hot seller for late spring and summer in trendy circles is the padded Chinese jacket. It now is on the backs of New York's fashion vanguard.

The jacket exists in two versions: pure silk damask Imperialist type, and worker-peasant lowly quilted cotton. There is nothing lowly about the quilted cotton's price, however. An Upper East Side boutique carries a made-in-India copy of the People's Republic jacket at \$90. Cinnamonwear, a with-it Seventh Avenue sportswear company, has the jacket to retail at \$50.

Berry Berenson (Mrs. Anthony) Perkins, sister of actress Marisa Berenson and granddaughter of French couturiers Elsa Schiaparelli, was one of the first of fashion's inner circle to take up the worker's jacket. Here is Cinnamonwear's. Nonie Moore, a Mademoiselle editor, and Patricia Peterson, of the New York Times fashion staff, are both wearing the jackets.



Quilted jacket by Cinnamonwear



# French/German

## Stirrings in North Korea

By Joseph C. Harsch

A lot of people in South Korea are worried about what the future holds for them. Obviously, they have reason for their anxiety. As Saigon was collapsing Kim Il-sung, President of North Korea, was in Peking. We are entitled to assume that he saw fresh opportunities for himself in the present pattern of events in Asia. It is a reasonable guess that he wanted Peking's approval for another try at toppling the present system in South Korea.

It does not follow that the Chinese have given Kim Il-sung permission to hit the adventure trail. It is more likely that they have told him to take it easy and do nothing foolish. But the fact that Mr. Kim went to Peking underlines the most important single fact about the future of Korea. That fact is that other countries have a considerable interest in the future of Korea. And it suggests that the time is approaching when the United States might well consult those others.

For 25 years the U.S. has been the sole protector and defender of the noncommunist

government and system which survives in the southern half of the Korean peninsula. The expense of keeping up an American military force of 38,000 men is being questioned in Congress. So too is the fact that the U.S. Second Infantry Division is posted on the road from the frontier to the capital city of Seoul and hence is in the direct line of any renewed North Korean attack on South Korea. Congress has suggested that the Second Division could be moved south of Seoul to a less exposed position.

The American presence has been based on an old assumption left over from the Korean war that without an American presence South Korea would be gobbled up by North Korea. But is that assumption still valid?

So long as there is no general agreement about Korea by other countries having an interest in the theory does and will remain valid that South Korea's independence depends largely on the U.S. But this condition surely need not continue indefinitely.

Kim Il-sung undoubtedly would like to be

the ruler of all of Korea. But who else wants him to achieve that role?

The other country most concerned is Japan. The U.S. is in Korea because it defeated Japan in World War II. To the victor falls the responsibility of defending the interests of the vanquished. South Korea is vital to the defense of Japan. In hostile hands South Korea is (as always) a springboard for a possible attack on Japan. The U.S. has been defending a Japanese interest, not a primary American interest, in protecting the independence of South Korea. Japan could and should begin to take up its own burden in Korea.

China and the Soviet Union have mixed interests in the future of Korea. Neither trusts Kim Il-sung entirely. The Chinese called him a "fal revisionist" during their "Cultural Revolution." That probably meant that they considered him to be too much under Soviet influence. But the Soviets could not feel comfortable if North Korea became a satellite of Peking. To survive at all North Korea has to manage to be more or less neutral between

Peking and Moscow.

For either Moscow or Peking to come Kim Il-sung now would be an act of hostility. Interests of Japan. Both are trying to improve their relations with Japan. And both undoubtedly prefer a neutral and friendly Korea to one as powerful as North Vietnam becoming with uncertain loyalty to Peking and Moscow. The present condition in Korea, with the South and the U.S. and Japan and the suspended carefully between Moscow and Peking, is the safest condition for a cornered.

It is so obviously in the common interest that it ought to become the subject of diplomatic effort aimed at a guarantee status quo in Korea. Such a guarantee signed to advantage by the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union, that road by which Washington could step from under the cost and the risk of being sole protector of the independence of Korea. It is time to start down that

## Agitation en Corée du Nord

par Joseph C. Harsch

Quantité de gens en Corée du Sud sont inquiets sur ce que leur réserve l'avenir. De toute évidence leur inquiétude est fondée. Au moment où Saigon s'écroulait, Kim Il-sung, président de la Corée du Nord, se trouvait à Pékin. Nous sommes autorisés à supposer qu'il voyait de nouvelles possibilités à son profit dans le contexte actuel des événements d'Asie. Il paraît raisonnable de deviner qu'il entendait obtenir l'approbation de Pékin pour une nouvelle tentative de renverser le système actuel de la Corée du Sud.

Il ne s'ensuit pas que les Chinois aient donné à Kim Il-sung la permission de tenter l'aventure. Il est plus probable qu'ils lui aient dit d'y aller doucement et de ne se livrer à aucun acte inconsidéré. Mais le fait que M. Kim se soit rendu à Pékin met en relief l'élément unique le plus important sur l'avenir de la Corée. C'est qu'en réalité l'avenir de la Corée présente un intérêt considérable pour d'autres pays. Et cela implique que le temps approche où les Etats-Unis pourraient bien consulter ces autres pays.

Pendant 25 ans, les Etats-Unis ont été la seule protectrice et défenseur du gouvernement et du système non communiste qui survit dans la moitié méridionale de la péninsule coréenne. Le Congrès s'interroge aujourd'hui sur les frais qu'entraîne le maintien d'une force militaire américaine de 38 000 hommes, ainsi que sur le fait que la deuxième division d'infanterie américaine est postée sur la route qui conduit de la frontière à Séoul, la capitale, et se trouve par conséquent sur la ligne directe d'une attaque que pourrait relancer la Corée du Nord contre la Corée du Sud. Le Congrès a suggéré que la deuxième division soit peut-être déplacée sur une position moins exposée au sud de Séoul.

La présence américaine a été basée sur la présomption ancienne, reliquie de la guerre de Corée, que sans la présence américaine en Corée du Sud serait gommée par la Corée du Nord. Mais cette hypothèse est-elle encore valable?

Tant que les autres pays intéressés n'auront pas souscrit à un accord général au sujet de la Corée, la supposition aux termes de laquelle l'indépendance de la Corée du Sud dépend largement des Etats-Unis subsiste et continuera à subsister. Mais assurément cette condition ne doit pas durer indéfiniment.

Kim Il-sung voudrait sans aucun doute exercer sa souveraineté sur toute

la Corée. Mais qui d'autre entend le voir jouer ce rôle? L'autre pays le plus directement intéressé se trouve être le Japon. Les Etats-Unis sont en Corée parce qu'ils battirent le Japon dans la seconde guerre mondiale. La responsabilité de défendre les intérêts du vaincu incombe au vainqueur. La Corée du Sud est vitale pour la défense du Japon. La Corée du Sud, aux mains d'un ennemi, constitue (comme toujours) un tremplin pour une attaque possible contre le Japon. Les Etats-Unis ont défendu un intérêt japonais — et non un intérêt primordial américain — en protégeant l'indépendance de la Corée du Sud. Le Japon pourrait et devrait commencer à prendre ses propres responsabilités en Corée.

La Chine et l'Union soviétique ont des intérêts communs dans l'avenir de la Corée. Ni l'une ni l'autre n'a entièrement confiance en Kim Il-sung. Les Chinois l'appellent le « sot révisionniste », durant leur « révolution culturelle ». Cela implique vraisemblablement qu'ils le considéraient beaucoup trop sous l'influence des Soviétiques. Mais les Soviétiques ne se sentiraient pas à l'aise si la Corée du Nord devenait un satellite de Pékin. Pour pouvoir tant soit peu survivre, la Corée du Nord

doit manœuvrer pour rester le moins neutre entre Pékin et Moscou.

Tant pour Pékin que pour Moscou le fait d'encourager maintenant Kim Il-sung serait un acte contraire à leurs intérêts du Japon. Toutes deux forment d'ailleurs leurs relations avec le Japon. Et toutes deux préfèrent sans aucun doute une Corée du Sud neutre et petite à une Corée du Sud saine que le Nord Vietnam est en train de devenir, avec un loyalisme à l'égard de Moscou. L'état de division actuel, avec le Sud associé aux Etats-Unis et au Japon, et le Nord associé avec Moscou et Pékin, constitue la situation la plus sûre pour les intéressés.

Ce fait est de toute évidence le point dans l'intérêt commun de la partie qui devrait devenir le sujet d'une action diplomatique ayant pour objet la garantie du statu quo en Corée. Une telle garantie peut être signée au profit des Etats-Unis, du Japon, de la Chine et de l'Union soviétique. C'est la voie par laquelle Washington pourrait se libérer de sa sécurité des frats et du risque d'être seule gardienne de l'indépendance de la Corée du Sud. C'est le moment de

survivre, la Corée du Nord

entre Pékin et Moscou. Pour l'un ou l'autre, Kim Il-sung serait un acte de hostilité. Les intérêts du Japon. Les deux sont en train d'améliorer leurs relations avec le Japon. Et les deux préfèrent sans aucun doute une Corée du Sud neutre et petite à une Corée du Sud saine que le Nord Vietnam est en train de devenir, avec un loyalisme à l'égard de Moscou. L'état de division actuel, avec le Sud associé aux Etats-Unis et au Japon, et le Nord associé avec Moscou et Pékin, constitue la situation la plus sûre pour les intéressés.

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[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
(Une traduction française est publiée dans le même journal)

## Nous sommes aimés

Chacun de nous est précieux aux yeux de Dieu. Nous sommes tous Ses enfants, complets et parfaits, habitant « dans la maison de l'Eternel jusqu'à la fin de [nos] jours. »

Parce que notre être est en réalité spirituel, nous ne pouvons jamais être hais, négligés ou abusés d'aucune manière, quel que soit notre âge ou la circonstance dans laquelle nous nous trouvons. Tout au contraire — nous sommes, dans notre identité spirituelle véritable, aimés, nourris et protégés par Dieu, notre Père-Mère toujours présent, Vérité et Amour divins.

Christ Jésus, l'exemple suprême de la vraie nature idéale de l'homme, recommanda à ses disciples : « N'appelez personne sur la terre votre père ; car un seul est votre Père, celui qui est dans les cieux. » Sa vision inspirée de ce que représentent enfants et parents était de nature pratique et apportait la liberté et l'espoir à l'humanité.

Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, donne de plus l'explication de l'origine et de l'être divins de l'homme lorsqu'elle écrit : « Dans la Science l'homme est le rejeton de l'Esprit. Le beau, le bon et le pur constituent son ascendance. »

En réalité, nous ne comprenons aucun élément désagréable ou indésirable. Une compréhension accrue de l'Amour divin et de notre perfection en tant qu'enfants de Dieu nous permet de prouver cela. Notre héritage est un bon héritage qui nous bêche ainsi que ceux qui nous entourent.

La jalousie, la colère, la vengeance, la rancune, la solitude, ne font aucunement partie de notre être réel et ne peuvent le toucher. Nous sommes les bien-aimés de l'Amour, Dieu. Il est impossible que notre vie soit jamais altérée ou endommagée ou notre progrès retardé ou arrêté. Ceci est dû au fait que nous sommes spirituels, nés de l'Esprit divin, Dieu. Dieu a créé l'univers spirituellement et tout ce qu'il contient, y compris l'homme, exprime Sa bonté et Sa perfection.

Dans la mesure où nous voyons et comprenons l'identité et la perfection

véritablement spirituelles de l'homme, les expériences désagréables ne peuvent nous dominer. La crainte, la frustration, la douleur et le décapotement seront effacés de notre conscience à mesure que nous la remplissons d'amour, car l'amour est tout. Indépendamment de ce qui semble avoir lieu dans notre vie, nous pouvons savoir scientifiquement que notre être réel est toujours en sécurité et intact en Dieu, et le démontrer.

L'homme réel étant lui par la Science à son Créateur, les mortels n'ont qu'à se détourner du péché et à perdre de vue la mort mortelle pour trouver le Christ, l'homme réel et sa relation à Dieu, et pour reconnaître la filialité divine, dit Mrs. Eddy.

Nous sommes un avec Dieu et ne pouvons pour un instant être séparés de Sa bonté et de Son amour. Nous ne pouvons être privés de paix ou de joie ou d'affection. Nous ne pouvons être blessés ou être blessés.

Comprenant la nature paternelle et maternelle de Dieu et la filiation divine de l'homme, nous sommes libérés d'un sentiment pesant de responsabilité pour notre propre bien-être et celui d'autrui. Nous appuyons moins sur les personnes et plus sur Dieu pour être guidés et dirigés, nous évitons bien des pressions et des inquiétudes qui ont trait à la vie quotidienne. Le reconnaître comme la source de tout bien, nous pouvons prouver que Dieu prend soin de chacun de Ses enfants de façon abondante et adéquate — quel que soit le besoin.

En tant qu'enfants de Dieu, nous demeurons ensemble en unité parfaite et sommes satisfaits.

1. Psaume 23:6; 2. Matthieu 23:9; 3. Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 63; 4. Science et Santé, p. 316.

\* Christian Science prononce "kris-tian" assurance.

La traduction française de l'œuvre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec la collaboration de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec la collaboration de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commande à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02116.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02116.

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

## Wir werden geliebt

Gott hat jeden von uns lieb. Wir alle sind Seine Kinder — heil und vollkommen — und wohnen im Hause des Herrn immerdar.

Da unser Sein in Wirklichkeit geistig ist, können wir niemals gehaßt, vernachlässigt oder auf irgendeine Weise mißbraucht werden, was auch immer unser Alter oder die Umstände sein mögen. Ganz im Gegenteil — wir werden in unserem wahren, geistigen Selbst von unserem immer gegenwärtigen Vater-Mutter Gott, der göttlichen Wahrheit und Liebe, geliebt, erhalten und beschützt.

Christus Jesus, das erhabenste Beispiel für das wahre ideale Wesen des Menschen, forderte seine Nachfolger auf: „Ihr sollt niemand euren Vater heißen auf Erden; denn euer Vater ist der im Himmel.“ Er betrachtete Kindheit und Elternschaft auf eine praktische, inspirierte Art und brachte dadurch der Menschheit Freiheit und Hoffnung.

Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, erläuterte den göttlichen Ursprung und das göttliche Sein des Menschen näher, wenn sie schreibt: „In der Wissenschaft ist der Mensch der Sprößling des Geistes. Das Schöne, das Gute und das Reine sind seine Ahnen.“

In Wirklichkeit weist unser Charakter kein einziges unerfreuliches oder unerwünschtes Element auf. Durch das zunehmende Verständnis von der göttlichen Liebe und unserer Vollkommenheit als Gottes Kind werden wir dies beweisen können. Uns ist ein schönes Erbe geworden, das uns und unsere Mitmenschen segnet.

Eifersucht, Ärger, Rachsucht, Boshaftigkeit und Einsamkeit gehören nicht zu unserem wirklichen Sein und können es nicht berühren. Wir sind die geliebten Kinder Gottes, der Liebe.

Es ist unmöglich, daß wir jemals verletzt werden oder Schaden erleiden oder daß unser Fortschritt verzögert oder aufgehalten wird. Denn ist so, weil wir geistig sind, von dem göttlichen Geist, Gott, geboren. Gott erschuf das Universum geistig, und alles in ihm, einschließlich des Menschen, bringt Seine Güte und Vollkommenheit zum Ausdruck.

In dem Verhältnis, wie wir die wahre geistige Identität und Vollkommenheit des Menschen erkennen und verstehen, können unerfreuliche Ergebnisse keinen Einfluß mehr auf uns

haben. Furcht, Frustration, Schmerzen und Enttäuschungen werden aus unserem Bewußtsein ausgelöscht, wenn wir es mit Liebe erfüllen, denn Liebe ist Alles. Wir können unabhängig davon, was in unserem Leben vor sich zu gehen scheint, wissenschaftlich daran festhalten und demonstrieren, daß unser wirkliches Sein immerdar in Gott sicher und unverwundbar ist.

Da der wirkliche Mensch durch die Wissenschaft mit seinem Schöpfer verknüpft ist, brauchen sich die Sterblichen nur von der Sünde abzuwenden und die sterbliche Selbstheit aus den Augen zu verlieren, um Christus, den wirklichen Menschen und seine Beziehung zu Gott, zu finden und die göttliche Sohnschaft zu erkennen, sagt Mrs. Eddy.

Wir sind eins mit Gott und können niemals auch nur für einen Augenblick von Seiner Güte oder Liebe getrennt sein. Wir können des Friedens, der Freude oder der Zuneigung nicht beraubt werden. Wir können niemanden verletzen, noch können wir verletzt werden.

Wenn wir die Vater- und Mutter-schaft Gottes und die göttliche Sohnschaft des Menschen verstehen, werden wir von einem bedrückenden Verantwortungsfühl für unser eigenes Wohlergehen und das anderer frei. Wenn wir uns weniger auf Personen und mehr auf Gott um Führung und Leitung verlassen, vermeiden wir grobstellige den Streß und die Sorgen des täglichen Lebens. Wenn wir ihn als den Ursprung alles Guten anerkennen, können wir beweisen, daß Gott für jedes seiner Kinder in reichem und angemessenem Maße sorgt — was auch immer das Bedürfnis sein mag.

Als Gottes Kinder leben wir in vollkommener Eintracht und sind zufrieden.

1. Psalm 23:6; 2. Matthäus 23:9; 3. Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 63; 4. Wissenschaft und Gesundheit, S. 316.

\* Christian Science, spricht "kris-tian" als Name.

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite identisch. Das Buch kann in den Lesecentren der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02116.

Auswahl über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache steht auf Anfrage zur Verfügung. The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02116.

## Was wird die Zukunft für Korea bringen?

Von Joseph C. Harsch

Viele Leute in Südkorea machen sich Gedanken darüber, was die Zukunft ihnen wohl bringen mag. Sie haben natürlich allen Grund zur Besorgnis. Als nämlich Saigon fiel, war Kim Il-sung, der Präsident Nordkoreas, in Peking. Wir dürfen mit Recht annehmen, daß er in dem gegenwärtigen Verlauf der Ereignisse in Asien neue Möglichkeiten sah.

Es folgt nicht zu bedeuten, daß die Chinesen Kim Il-sung die Genehmigung erteilt haben, sein Glück zu versuchen. Statt dessen legten sie ihm wahrscheinlich nahe, vorsichtig vorzugehen und nicht unüberlegt zu handeln. Aber das Kim nach Peking ging, unterstreicht eine der wichtigsten Tatsachen, was Koreas Zukunft betrifft, nämlich daß andere Länder ein beachtliches Interesse für die Zukunft Koreas zeigen. Und dies läßt darauf schließen, daß die Zeit näher rückt, wo die Vereinigten Staaten sich mit jenen anderen Ländern besprechen sollten.

25 Jahre lang haben nun die USA als einzige die nichtkommunistische Regierung und ihr System, die im südlichen

Teil der koreanischen Halbinsel fortbestehen, beschützt und verteidigt. Der Kongreß hat nicht nur die Unterhaltskosten für die amerikanischen Streitkräfte von 38.000 Mann zur Debatte gestellt, sondern auch die Tatsache, daß die Zweite Division der amerikanischen Infanterie an der Straße stationiert ist, die von der Grenze zu der Hauptstadt Seoul führt — also an einem äußerst exponierten Punkt.

Die amerikanische Präsenz gründet sich auf die alte, vom Koreakrieg datierende Annahme, daß Südkorea ohne diese Präsenz von Nordkorea verschlungen würde. Aber ist diese Annahme noch berechtigt?

Solange die anderen Länder, die an der Zukunft Koreas interessiert sind, zu keiner allgemeinen Übereinkunft in bezug auf Korea kommen, ist und bleibt die Theorie gültig, daß Südkorea unabhängig großenteils von den USA abhängt. Dieser Zustand braucht jedoch gewiß nicht ad infinitum fortzuhalten.

Zweifelloso wäre Kim Il-sung gern Herrscher über ganz Korea. Aber wer

außer ihm selbst möchte, daß er diese Rolle übernimmt?

Das andere Land, das es am meisten betrifft, ist Japan. Die USA sind in Korea, weil sie Japan im Zweiten Weltkrieg besiegten. Und dem Sieger fällt die Aufgabe zu, die Interessen des Besiegten zu wahren. Südkorea ist für die Verteidigung Japans äußerst wichtig. Sollte Südkorea in feindliche Hände geraten, dann ist es eine Gefahr für die Sicherheit Japans. Dadurch, daß die USA die Unabhängigkeit Südkoreas beschützt haben, haben sie an erster Stelle die japanischen Interessen gewahrt, nicht die amerikanischen. Japan könnte und sollte nun selbst die Verantwortung in bezug auf Korea übernehmen.

China und die Sowjetunion haben gemischte Interessen an der Zukunft Koreas. Sowohl China wie die Sowjetunion trauen Kim Il-sung nicht recht. Die Chinesen nannten ihn während ihrer „Kulturrevolution“ einen „fetten Revisionisten“. Damit wollten sie wahrscheinlich sagen, daß er sich ihres Brachens zu sehr von der Sowjetunion beeinflussen läßt. Doch der Sowjetunion wäre nicht ganz wohl, wenn Nordkorea ein Satellitstaat Pekings würde. Um überhaupt zu

überleben, muß es Nordkorea zwischen Peking und Moskau weniger neutral zu bleiben.

Wenn nun Moskau oder Peking Kim Il-sung unterstützen, wäre das über den japanischen Interessen feindlicher Akt. Beide Länder sind sich um bessere Beziehungen bemüht. Und beide Länder würden sich neutralen und kleinen Nationen nehmen als ein so mächtiges, wie Vietnam es nun wird und sein wird. Nicht klar ist, ob es für Moskau die Treue hält. Der politische Zustand in Korea ist zwischen Moskau und Peking her pendelnd — gewährt allen Seiten die größte Sicherheit.

Es ist somit offensichtlich, daß es aller, daß es das Thema diplomatische Bemühungen werden sollte, die Status quo in Korea zu bewahren. Solch eine Übereinkunft könnte den Vereinigten Staaten, China und die Sowjetunion zu Vorteil überbringen. Auf diese Weise könnte sich Washington ohne den Kosten und dem Risiko von der einzigen Protectors der Unabhängigkeit Südkoreas zu sein. Zu der Zeit, diesen Weg einschlagen



Japanese children enjoying a summer shower

By Gordon N. Converse, staff photographer





"Gaspé 1951": Photograph by Walter Rosenblum

## Photography as an art

In times past, the young artist sought out the Master's School, apprenticed himself, painted in the School of a Titian and, as his skill surpassed or varied, sought his own way. But it was always an orderly transition. No so, the modern era in art. Today's student alternately resists and learns from a place bearing the title University or School, not from a person.

Only in photography does discipleship go on. The newest of the "art forms," photography, thus follows the oldest of art world

patterns. "Paul Caponigro was a revelation," one photographer proclaims clearly in words posted at an exhibition. "I'm going to spend some time with Ansel Adams," a photographer I consider well-established put it. "Paul Strand's superior photos of Gaspe led me there." Walter Rosenblum observed when exhibiting this work. Imagine an artist trotting away with a jocular, "I'm off to sit at the feet of Willem de Kooning."

Why? Perhaps it is because photographers have a less exalted notion of their work, as

has Rosenblum. Since no ego can deny the need for technical aid, then no ego is embarrassed to admit its source. But there's more. Perhaps because photography is an infant art, giving credit where it's due is no burden to the photographer.

Conversely, credit does not always come to those who deserve it. Rosenblum, the teacher who helped legitimize the form within the schools, has had a far more modest reputation than his peers and teachers until a recent exhibition. A photo-

journalist and humanist, he endows each horse in Gaspe with a tender character. Inspired by his mentor, Strand, Rosenblum has created here a work outside the social realist stream of his photography. It is an evocative and lyrical view, a printed scene, capturing an ambience, also documents a place and sets the photographer within the student-to-master tradition.

missing a huge shovelful of topsoil. Head of the Household was looking for our savage clay.

"Hey! Are you going to the Dump?" I asked.

"I am not going to the Dump!" I replied firmly. "I am burning forth! I am burning! I am joining Nature's March!"

"You're what?" I waved gaily to the cock pheasant and four wives, mixing primly down the organized pecking order. Up from the frenzy of quacking and scattering, I noticed that the ducks were seeking the Siles, Split-level, Ranch-type water frontage. A swan, half flying, shot the water with an air of urgency.

"Hey Ding-a-ding-a-ding!" I called out of time. "I am going to buy the Rosemary and Sweet Basil and Marjoram and Parsley and Canterbury Bells!"

Penelope

## And addition is subtraction...

The years turn pages  
at our feet  
yet we no nearer  
come  
than sum  
of one and one.  
For far is near  
and old is  
mathematics  
new.  
The whole

unmeasured  
From  
is  
where  
we meet  
and thought  
is all  
the I or you  
to greet  
in trust  
we share.

Maxine Le Pelley

## Storms of spring

In this somber part of the land we rejoice in any rainfall, but the ones that do the most good to pastures and grain fields are the spring rains. These we don't have every year, but this year they came and would not stop. Country people rejoiced while city people complained. Since the city by the coast had been planned without thought of any rain — ever — some streets became rivers. A shopping center, built in the middle of a sandy river bed, became a lake. This caused consternation.

As far as we were concerned, so much rain caused consternation only among the dogs and cats. They weren't accustomed to being house-bound, but every time they went outdoors they didn't like that, either. Inside the house they had to sleep or to play with their toys or to chase one another about. Sometimes the house shuddered from all their activities. This house is old and feeble. It developed leaks which I never guessed it could have. I was kept busy putting pots and pans under likely places, spreading newspapers to soak up swamps. I didn't mind, except for the leak right over my head in the exact spot where I stood to wash dishes. Also I didn't like the rain to keep putting out the hot water heater as it had become difficult to relight.

Fortunately Danny came. He is a young neighbor who dislikes every kind of mechanical object but is talented about repairing. In a very short time he had the water heater fixed and roaring away so that the task of washing dishes became less. (Except for that leak over my head.)

The rain went on and on with variations. Sometimes it hailed, sleeted, even snowed a few flakes. The rose colored camellias keep blooming as if they enjoyed all this. I wondered about our friend Mardy who lives, along with horses and dogs, up on Cuyamaca Mountain. She insists on spending winters there though every one tells her not to, as she and her family have a place to stay at a lower elevation. I couldn't phone to ask how she was, as the storm had demolished her phone lines.

Then one late afternoon, just as I had finished chores, my neighbor phoned me.

"There is a lot of snow coming, has it reached you yet? Are you through at the barn? Don't go out anymore." I assured her that I was safe inside, with my boots and jacket off and a lot of heat on.

Before the end of the day the snow came. First big flakes that swirled, went up and down, landed so softly that they vanished. I enjoyed watching them until their quality changed. Flakes became smaller and more intense and stayed on earth, trees and flowers.

I heard sounds of complaints. My small herd of pasture cattle had appeared and they didn't like anything about anything. Their remarks were all decisive. They wanted to get under a barn roof. As I put on boots and jacket I thought about all the range cattle out in the storm, some with new calves. But the pasture animals refuse to be treated like cattle. I had to go through the snow, open the corral gate and let them into shelter.

Even as I grumbled I enjoyed this snowy journey with all its squeaky crunchy sounds under my boots. The house was wonderful when I got back in again. Dogs and cats played with one another, romping about so much that their activities made the house warmer.

The next morning I spread out hay on a clean white tablecloth of snow. Cats went outdoors, came back in shaking cold paws. Dogs ran through the snow, then clamored to get back by the fire. Before noon rain washed away the snow. Soon I was tired of both snow and rain. My boots kept sinking into the area around the barn. The pigs wouldn't move from the warm beds they'd made for themselves in a horse stall. With envy I looked at them, warm and comfortable.

A few mornings later I awakened to hear no rain at all. Horses, cows and pigs were all spread flat on the earth, enjoying the sun. I could no more stay inside than they could.

Then more rain came. I kept remembering that the rain promised a wonderful spring and summer but I wished that all the wonderfulness would happen soon.

Judy Van der Veer

## Rises—sets

Fluorescent lighting

Keeps my painting constant on the night wall.

By day my painting rises and sets

Setting slowly grays

Whites last longest

Purples return to twilight

Yellows rise with the sun

Red reappears

My painting highs to noon

Its shadows lengthen to late day

Guess I'll leave off fluorescence

While it lives and breathes

And tides the light.

Emilie Glen

## The Monitor's religious article

## We are loved

Each of us is precious to God. We are all His children, whole and perfect, dwelling "in the house of the Lord for ever."

Because our being is really spiritual, we can never be hated, neglected, or abused in any way, whatever our age or circumstances. Quite the contrary — we are, in our true, spiritual selfhood, loved, nourished, and protected by God, our ever-present Father-Mother, divine Truth and Love.

Christ Jesus, the supreme example of the real ideal nature of man, urged his followers to "call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven." His was a practical, inspired view of childhood and parenthood, which brought freedom and hope to mankind.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, further explains man's divine origin and being when she writes: "In Science man is the offspring of Spirit. The beautiful, good, and pure constitute his ancestry."

In reality, there is not one unpleasant or undesirable element in our makeup. Increased understanding of divine Love and our perfection as God's child will enable us to prove this. Ours is a goodly heritage, one which blesses us and those around us.

Jealousy, anger, revenge, spite, loneliness, have no part in and cannot touch our real being. We are the loved of Love, God. It is impossible for our lives ever to be scarred or damaged, or our progress retarded or checked. This is because we are spiritual, born of divine Spirit, God. God created the universe spiritually and everything in it, including man, expresses His goodness and perfection.

To the degree that we see and understand man's true spiritual identity and perfection, unpleasant experiences can have no hold over us. Fear, frustration, pain, and disappointment will be erased from our consciousness as we fill it with love, for Love is All. Irrespective of what may seem to be taking place in our lives, we can scientifically know and demonstrate that our real being is forever safe and intact in God.

"The real man being linked by Science to his Maker, mortals need only turn from sin and lose sight of mortal selfhood to find Christ, the real man and his relation to God, and to recognize the divine sonship," says Mrs. Eddy.

We are at one with God and can never for an instant be separated from His goodness or love. We cannot be deprived of peace or joy or affection. We cannot injure or be injured.

Understanding the fatherhood and motherhood of God, and man's divine sonship, we are freed from a burdensome feeling of responsibility for our own well-being and

that of others. Relying less on individuals and more on God for guidance and direction, we avoid many of the pressures and anxieties of everyday living. Acknowledging Him as the source of all good, we can prove that God cares for each of His children abundantly and properly — whatever the need.

As children of God, we dwell together in perfect union and are satisfied.

\*Psalms 23:6; \*\*Matthew 23:9; †Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 63; ‡Science and Health, p. 316.

## DAILY BIBLE VERSE

Delight thyself also in the Lord; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart. Commit thy way unto the Lord: trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass.

Psalms, 37:4, 5

## The healing touch of God's love

In the Bible God promises, "I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds."

Are you longing for a greater assurance of God's healing care? Perhaps a fuller and deeper understanding of God may be required of you. A book that can help you is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy. This is a book that brings to light God's ever-present goodness, His power and His love.

Science and Health speaks of God's steadfastness and His law of healing through prayer. It can show you how a change in your concept of God and man can bring healing and regeneration in your life. It will show you how the Bible's promises are fulfilled.

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Miss Frances C. Carlson  
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My check for \$2.50 enclosed in payment in full.

Susan Morrison



# OPINION

Melvin Maddocks

## Suffering tools gladly

Homer Faber had a mother with a dream, as don't we all?

Some mothers' dreams for their sons are compounded out of frustration. To put it bluntly, they want their sons to become the man their husbands, alas, have never been.

Homer's mother was not this sort of woman. In fact, she ranked her husband generally higher than her father in the triumvirate (father-husband-son) that seems to vacillate like a ratings game, in women's heads.

But one thing her father had been that her husband emphatically was not: good with his hands. He could, as the saying goes, make his car run with two sticks of gum and a rusty hairpin. Leaky faucets seemed to dry up out of sheer fear when he picked up a wrench. Two turns of a screw, a gentle pat on top, and mantel clocks silent for 50 years would begin to chime again.

Her husband, on the other hand, did not suffer tools gladly. Not only was he helpless at fixing things, he was a genius at destroying them. Door knobs came off in his

hands. The moment he touched a toaster that had operated flawlessly for 15 years it suddenly went berserk and spit black crumbs on English muffins.

So, as she made her daily rounds to TV repairmen, to auto mechanics, to the waiting lines in the outer offices of electricians and plumbers, Homer's mother clung to her dream. That her son would balance out between her Mr. Fixit father and her Mr. Wreckit husband. Was this asking too much?

How she watched Homer as a baby! He pounded a workmanlike rattle. He built a mean set of blocks. He pulled electric plugs from their sockets with a certain grace. There was cause for hope.

And there had to be. For the world Homer was growing up in had more and more things to fix (or break), and while the breakers, like Homer's father, are always with us, the fixers were getting harder and harder to find. "My plumber doesn't make house calls" was no longer a joke.

Time passed, and as far as skills went, so did Homer. At 12 he got a B-minus in carpentry. When the television fuzzed up he gave it a kick like everybody else. He was ordinary, which was what his mother had said she would settle for. But now it no longer seemed enough.

One day she was in a bookstore, looking for a paperback of "Robinson Crusoe" — now there was a homo faber for you — when she ran across "Know-How: A Fix-It Book for the Clumsy But Pure of Heart" by Guy Allard, Miron Waskiw, and Tony Hiss (Little, Brown, \$12.50 and \$5.50).

The book had that certain Zen tone so obligatory

these days when writing about subjects like motorcycle racing.

"A good tool," said the authors, "does work for you. A bad tool makes work for you."

The evening he was given the book the light in Homer's room stayed on until 1:30. He came down to breakfast murmuring: "The first tool you should have is how to use it your eye."

And other quotations. The book was so well written. When the authors stated the repairman's law of probability — if the car won't start, first check the gas tank, etc. — it came out like this: "When you buy a hoofbeats, don't look for zebras (unless you are on the Serengeti Plain)."

The book changed Homer's life. Exalted by its stylish, witty prose, he determined to become a writer, like Mr. Hiss (on the staff of the New Yorker). The only machine he took the slightest interest in was the typewriter his mother had to buy him for his birthday.

On the other hand, his mother began to read the book herself, tuning out the splendid prose but paying a lot of attention to the neat diagrams and the fixer's "tricks" summarized in red. She discovered that it was she who had inherited her father's gifts, and in no time she was putting the knobs back on doors as fast as her husband could take them off.

As a writer, Homer sought a moral for the story. He concluded it was this: Don't put a square peg in a round hole — especially if you're really awful with your hands.

Roscoe Drummond

## Korea: a role for Congress

Washington

To the President of the United States and members of Congress:

There is a clear and present danger that the slogan "No more Vietnam" will become a prison instead of a warning.

It would be a warning and to make it a valuable warning we need to fix clearly in mind the essential lesson to be drawn from both the Vietnamese and Korean experience.

Is not this the central lesson: that U.S. military forces must not be committed to war on foreign soil without the advance approval by Congress?

It has already happened twice. President Truman put the United States into war in Korea without going to Congress. President Johnson asked Congress to approve our role in the Vietnamese war only after we were already in it.

These bad precedents have done grievous harm to the nation. They ought not to be repeated.

They are at the point of being repeated at this moment unless something is done about it. Here are the circumstances:

Mr. President, you have given a new assurance to South Korean officials that "we shall keep our troops in South Korea."

There is good reason for giving such assurance. There is gathering evidence that the North Korean Communists, emboldened by the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, see the present moment as opportune to renew the aggression against South Korea. It cannot be safely discounted and your assurance that we will stand with our South Korean ally could be a deterrent.

But nothing could be more harmful than to have a committed President in the White

direction and an uncommitted Congress refusing to support him.

That is the prospect unless something is done about it soon.

You, Mr. President, are committed to joining in the defense of South Korea if a renewed attack comes.

But Congress is not committed.

Your assurance to the South Koreans reaffirms the commitment of your five predecessors in office — Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. You were reaffirming America's word as already given.

But Congress has never pledged its word to keep troops in South Korea.

Since Congress directed the President to remove American troops from Vietnam, there can be no certainty that it would not before very long do the same thing in Korea. Two such actions by the United States would leave the U.S. totally uncertain as an ally and nearly impotent in dealing with an adversary.

It would be even worse should Congress refuse to face up to its own responsibility in sharing with the President the Korean decision. If Congress says no to you, Mr. President, it will be giving an open invitation to the North Korean Communists to try again their attempt to take over South Korea by force — an aggression which the U.S. helped prevent the first time.

Mr. President, you have said that "we shall keep our commitments." There is no assurance that you can keep our commitments unless you do all that is necessary to make Congress your committed partner in doing so.

Don't you agree that you need explicit congressional authority to be assured you can make good on the pledge you have made to South Korea?

## Can 13 million Americans be wrong

By Jonathan Hirsch

Dublin

The defeat for moderation in Northern Ireland's decisive May Day elections was not a sectarian vote against the Roman Catholic minority — though the vote could well bring a violent return to the worst days of Protestant ascendancy.

Anguished Ulster voters picked hard-liners pledged to restoring undiluted Protestant majority rule. But the sincerely held grassroots desire is not to crush Catholics. Proof of this is seen in the continuing good relations on the factory floor, where Protestants and Catholics side by side are steadily boosting production and profits.

Rather was the solid Protestant vote an attempt to strike out at forces which the Protestants say rule Northern Ireland from a safe distance abroad — from London, and from the United States.

Northern Protestants feel they are not only being taxed, but bombed, killed, and coerced without representation. Closest to Ulster, the British Government in London is seen as an increasingly uncaring and incapable master. Britain seems to dictate Northern Ireland policies on the basis of "mainland" interests without consulting those directly affected.

To cure this situation, Ulster Protestants want either a restored local parliament or larger representation in the British Parliament. Ulster's majority has a fair chance of winning at least one of these aims. In the delicately balanced British Parliament, Ulster votes carry disproportionate weight. If this weight is successfully relinked with Britain's opposition Conservative Party, it could deeply affect both British and Ulster politics.

Ulster Protestants are even more confident that they have the strength to determine the future of Ireland.

IRA (Irish Republican Army) leaders from the Republic of Ireland to the east. Thus Ulster's one million Protestants annoyed by Britain's insistence on a "British dimension" — i.e., the sovereignty of the United Kingdom — in Northern Ireland. They are angered to claim that peace also depends on a "dimension" — i.e., formal North-South talks to leave open the option of unification.

Ulster can hit out at Britain and its fairly effectively. But Ulster's third option is not so easy to handle. What totally frustrates Ulster Protestants is the distant, immensely powerful, untouchable force of some 13 million Americans and the American political influence for these votes. It is small comfort that Irish Government in Dublin is equally frustrated in its attempts to deal with Ireland's "American dimension."

After constant appeals from the Government and from Ulster's main political party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, Irish-Americans still supply the IRA with funds, arms, and vital support. The IRA never wins votes in North and South. Yet many Irish-Americans still believe that the IRA represents their opinion. The Irish Government is struggling that Irish policies should be decided by elected Irish political leaders.

If America's Irish friends cannot understand the United States and its policies, there's a question as to whether they are fit to represent the Irish in America.

Ulster Protestants are even more confident that they have the strength to determine the future of Ireland.

although both nations also provide programs, too. But the trend on East and West Africa, Swahili is becoming the universal language for all Africans remains unaltered.

In East Africa, Swahili is a popular choice for a lingua franca. All Kenyans are being urged to learn it as a national language, apart from their tribal tongue.

Last July, President Kenyatta ruled that Swahili, not English, would be spoken officially in the nation's Parliament. Nevertheless, an elected member of the legislature has just lost his seat because he failed the English proficiency test.

The radio networks of Kenya and Tanzania operate day-long services entirely in Swahili.

By Henry S. Hayward

Nairobi, Kenya

Joseph Kamau is a Kenyan house servant. He is very poor and has a large family to support. Yet Mr. Kamau speaks three languages fluently and finds nothing strange in that fact.

If you ask him which one is his main language, he looks puzzled. "Kikuyu I learned in my village home as a child," he says. "Then there was English which we were all taught in school. And by the time I came to Nairobi, I also had learned Swahili, so I could talk to Kenyans of other tribes."

"Now I use all three, each at the proper time. I look at the face, and my head tells me which tongue to use."

## Black Africa: a babble of tongues

Yet Mr. Kamau's abundance of language highlights a serious problem. For black Africa is groping for a single tongue that can speak with authority for several hundred million people on this continent.

So far they have only the babble of literally hundreds of languages and dialects — and no agreement on one to predominate.

English, French, or any European tongue, is not the answer, according to Africans. "How can I properly denounce the effects of foreign control," said one, "when I have to use a European language to do so? It is humiliating."

Arabic, the language of many North Africans, was adopted along with French and English as an official working tongue at a

recent conference of the Economic Commission for Africa in Nairobi.

But to most black Africans Arabic is as incomprehensible as Chinese. For them, the task of finding a universal tongue for all Africans remains unaltered.

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In Central and West Africa, Swahili is becoming the universal language for all Africans remains unaltered.

The vast former French territories in French in addition to their native languages. This difference of geography, race, and culture that are part of the proud heritage have made the search for a language difficult. So does intense nationalism. But the need for a common language is recognized today more than ever before.

# COMMENTARY



Washington Letter

## Manipulating Mayaguez news coverage

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

At some point historians may be able to provide a clear chronicle of the President's decisionmaking process during the Mayaguez rescue. But the picture as of now is particularly cloudy, shaped by conflicting and what appear to be self-serving reports of what happened in those behind-the-scenes presidential sessions.

In the early wake of the episode there were widespread reports here which gave Henry Kissinger the "preeminent hawk" role. He was said to be the "hard-liner" among the President's advisers, going even beyond the President in his position that tough, decisive action was necessary.

At the same time there were reports, again allegedly from "insiders," which were saying that James Schlesinger was the "dove" in the consultations. He was pictured as advising a somewhat go-slow policy, emphasizing that diplomatic measures must be pursued fully before any kind of military initiative be taken.

The joint chiefs of staff were — at least in some "authentic" reports — said to be advising a softer course than that being followed by the President.

Now comes a new report — this one from what might be called "well-placed observers" who certainly were in a position to hear what the President was saying during these meetings — and what his advisers were saying to him.

These "sources" have told this paper that the characterization of Kissinger as the "hawk" and Schlesinger as the "dove" was "utter nonsense." Instead, the sources insist, "there was not a dime's difference between Kissinger and Schlesinger in the advice they gave the President."

These sources also seek to throw down the assertions in some reports that the President took a harder line than his joint chiefs.

They contend that the President always followed this procedure: He would listen to options suggested by the joint chiefs; second, he would make his decision after finishing his consulting process and being assured that his information on the situation was correct and up-to-the-minute; and, third, he would always go back to the joint chiefs and say: "I've decided to take this action. Is this the recommendation of the joint chiefs?"

"In every instance," this newspaper was assured, "the answer was 'yes.'"

Actually, these officials contend, the President on occasion resisted advice from the joint chiefs that might have entailed more force.

They say that while saturation bombing of the Cambodian mainland was not being urged by the military, it was an option that was at least brought to the attention of the President — and which he turned down. They also say that it was the President's own decision to keep the military from bombing a Cambodian vessel which — it later turned out — was carrying crew members of the Mayaguez.

How does one reconcile these varying reports? Again, it probably will be up to historians who have much better information at their disposal.

In the meantime one can find a good deal of credence being given in this city to a growing theory that the press has, up to now, been relying much too heavily on two, largely self-serving leaks.

Leak one — the "Kissinger the hawk" story — is said to be coming from those around the Secretary of State who believe it is important that he be perceived as bold, strong, and decisive.

Leak two — the "Schlesinger the dove" story — is said to be coming from those around the Secretary of Defense who feel it important that he be shown to be cool, restrained, and wise.

The relatively "dovish" joint chiefs report (as opposed to a more "hawkish" President) is said to come from these same sources — a story intended to support the thesis of a relatively dovish Schlesinger.

Finally — so the theory goes — since these leaks do not conflict, they have been relied on heavily by reporters who found elements of validity in these reports in the very fact that they can be put together so neatly.

However, now other sources, this time from the direction of the White House, are challenging the earlier stories.

But, again, one can find self-serving aspects in these new "leaks." The account that there was virtual agreement among the President's chief advisers (particularly Kissinger and Schlesinger) and the picture of a President who was exercising restraint along with his decisiveness puts Mr. Ford in a particularly good light.

What really happened? Clearly, one must wait and see.

Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.

## On spying for a democracy

By Adam Yarmolinsky

A popular question for pundits in this season of national discontent is whether a democracy can manage to operate an intelligence service. A more appropriate and useful question might be: What kind of intelligence service can a democracy maintain? The answer may be surprising, and even encouraging to those who continue to believe that on balance a democracy is the least harmful form of government thus far invented.

Clearly, public discussion of the methods and even of the fact of intelligence-gathering activities can be detrimental to their effectiveness.

When Robert McNamara was Secretary of Defense, his TV presentation of how the United States knew the Russians were deploying missiles in Cuba was strongly resisted by the intelligence services, because of what it would reveal about their sources and methods, particularly their catalog of the sizes and shapes of the various crates and boxes that contained Soviet military equipment. On balance, it was decided that maintaining popular confidence in government judgments was more important, but some damage was done to the intelligence collection process.

When Roberta Wohlstetter's prize-winning study of the intelligence failures at Pearl Harbor, based entirely on "open" sources, was to be published, the intelligence community again protested. The grounds were that publication would alert the intelligence services of unfriendly powers to the general problem of code breaking and code protection, and make intelligence gathering more difficult for a while.

But public discussion of the structure and processes of intelligence can also improve the intelligence product itself. One of the first things Robert McNamara did that upset the Pentagon hierarchy was to combine the strategic intelligence services of the three military departments into a single Defense Intelligence Agency. He found it unacceptable that there should be conflicting estimates within the building, based not on intellectual differences but rather on conflicting bureaucratic interests. A high estimate of Soviet air strength, for example, justifies a budget claim for more U.S. aircraft. Unhappily, these differences were submerged but not wholly eliminated. It will take an assist from the Congress and the informed and concerned public to press for completion of this reform.

By and large, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) military estimates tended to be more

reasonable, and more pessimistic, throughout the course of the war in Southeast Asia. But in the closed politics of the intelligence community the CIA made concessions to its counterparts in Defense, based not on the facts of the war in Asia, but on the facts of life in Washington. We are just beginning to learn about these compromises through whistleblowers in the agency, whose revelations stimulate general public concern. Again, the informal machinery of democracy works to avoid such compromises, and to maintain standards of professional performance.

The record of the CIA operations division — the department of dirty tricks — is perhaps the best demonstration that democratic controls may not be so bad after all. True, every operation was specifically authorized by the famous "40" Committee (a committee that, significantly, took its name not from a person or a purpose, but from the number of the room where it met). But the members of the 40 Committee (and its lineal predecessors) were busy men, and they did not feel a cantankerous Congress looking over their shoulders. The results are only too well-known, both in actual excesses, and even more in damaging rumors.

It may be that a democratically controlled department of dirty tricks is not possible, in the sense that elected political leaders will in fact make the effort to keep themselves fully informed in these matters, and to reflect on their public policy consequences. The temptation to play cops and robbers is very great. My own inclination, in any event, would be to bar covert intervention in the affairs of another nation, except in time of war, or as occasionally necessary for the limited purpose of intelligence gathering. The remaining operations would then require a much more limited capability than we now maintain, and could be more closely supervised, and more effectively reviewed after the fact.

Much remains to be done to bring the intelligence services under more effective control. Congressional oversight committees need to be strengthened. The overall intelligence budget can and should be openly discussed, while some areas of detail continue to be closely held. Adequate, accurate intelligence is too important, particularly in the nuclear age, for it not to be subjected to the time-tested processes of democratic government.

Mr. Yarmolinsky, who served in the Defense Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, is Ralph Waldo Emerson University professor at the University of Massachusetts.

## Scotland and the referendum

By Francis Renny

Glasgow

Scotland says No to Europe — on anybody else's terms, and that means England. Wild cheers always greet this call by Mrs. Margo Macdonald, leader of the Scottish National Party's campaign against the Common Market; but then Margo is, as the late Raymond Chandler put it, "the kind of blonde to make a bishop kick a hole in a stained glass window."

There will be more than meets the eye, though, in the June 5th referendum. Will Scotland vote to leave not only the Common Market, but the United Kingdom? Some observers of the Scottish political scene — a field disastrously neglected by most London-based commentators — believe that a No vote by Scotland may set off a landslide towards independence. And such a movement might draw Wales and Ulster in its wake.

The Scottish Nationalists hold 11 seats in the House of Commons, against the ruling Labour Party's 40 Scottish seats. But the SNP came second in all but 5 of those 40, quite eclipsing the Tories, and the SNP popular vote amounted to 800,000 compared with Labour's 1 million.

So the party is really divided on the issue, but has decided to leave open the possibility of a separate membership for Scotland, once independent. Hence, No to anybody else's terms.

What has fueled the long-quieted drive to independence is what Scots refer to as "our oil" — the rich deposits under the North Sea, overlooked also by England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, and

million. So the Nationalists present a real threat to Labour's traditional domination of the central industrial band where most of Scotland's voters live.

The SNP's attitude over the Common Market is a mere cynical. Many of the party's intellectuals have long argued that Scotland, with her "aid alliance" with France and other historical ties has always been more "European" than England. They even view the Market as a means of escaping English domination. On the other hand it is argued that the terms negotiated for United Kingdom membership as a whole are biased against Scotland.

Short on cash, long on strikes, Glasgow and Clydebank now present the grimmest, most run-down appearance of any urban communities in these islands (nearby Edinburgh remains primly respectable). Glasgow's politics have always been over to the left, and

Norway, and largely exploited by American money and skill. But one would drive English and Scots alike into a rage by suggesting the oil should be shared. It is also regarded as unkind to mention that not a drop of it has yet come ashore, and that the gusher could even be choked off by Britain's economic troubles and stiff taxes on exploitation.

The economic troubles have added further fuel to the SNP. Scotland's industries undoubtedly are the most run-down and neglected in Britain. Some would say investment was held off by the high strike record of Scottish workers; others that Scotland was unlucky in getting precisely those heavy industries — coal, steel, shipbuilding and heavy engineering — which have grown obsolescent at this point in the 20th century. Either way, unemployment is much worse than in the South.

Short on cash, long on strikes, Glasgow and Clydebank now present the grimmest, most run-down appearance of any urban communities in these islands (nearby Edinburgh remains primly respectable). Glasgow's politics have always been over to the left, and

today Communist influence is overt and flourishing. The Communists disapprove of the bourgeois, romantic, non-Marxist SNP, but enjoy the effect the Nationalists are having on United Kingdom unity and strength. And they are entirely at one in both opposing the Common Market.

If this week's results show a Scottish majority against Europe (and preliminary opinion polls have already indicated one), as against the English majority in favor (which is also predicted), then the Nationalists will be equipped with a supposedly popular mandate. As industrial distress gets worse there could well be violence in the streets, acts of "anti-English" terrorism. Already there have been some feeble attempts by a Scottish Liberation Army, and nobody who has visited Glasgow can fail to smell the same proletarian stink, the same cracking of law and order, the same despair that poisons the air of Belfast.

Perhaps only a courageous and masterful campaign by Harold Wilson in person, convincing Scots of the dangers they are running, can save a collapse of the old political order in Scotland and the emergence of something outlandish and untried.